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ABSTRACT

One of a series emanating from a three-year project concerned with the role of women in the English-speaking Caribbean, this publication discusses images, roles, and stereotypes of the Caribbean woman. The project's objectives are to establish in the region a data base for teaching, research, and planning purposes and to develop guidelines for a social policy that recognizes women's needs and draws on their skills and talents for program planning. To obtain data concerning perceptions of women, newspaper articles and statements of churchmen were analyzed. The publication is divided into three sections, dealing with Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad. For each of these territories images, stereotyping, and role performance of women in both pre- and post-independence eras are discussed. Cultural prescriptions for each color/racial group are examined and there is discussion as to whether the images presented can reasonably be performed by the women, given the roles culturally prescribed for them. Generally speaking, the 'guide to behavior' for women advanced by the image-makers in all three territories is that of a person whose purpose is derived from the existence of another, such as husband, father, or extended family. (RM)

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Perceptions of Caribbean Women

Erna Brodber

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Women in the Caribbean Project
Volume 4
General Editor: Joycelin Massiah

PERCEPTIONS OF CARIBBEAN WOMEN

TOWARDS A DOCUMENTATION OF STEREOTYPES

Erna Brodber

With an Introduction by Merle Hodge

Institute of Social and Economic Research
(Eastern Caribbean)
University of the West Indies
Cave Hill, Barbados
1982

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FOREWORD

WOMEN IN THE CARIBBEAN PROJECT

This volume is one of a series emanating from Phase I of a three-year project concerned with The Role of Women in the English-speaking Caribbean. The project involves a multi-disciplinary team of Caribbean scholars of both sexes covering the fields of Anthropology, Caribbean Literature, Demography, Sociology and Political Science drawn from the three campuses of the UWI and from the University of Guyana.

The principal objectives of the study are to establish in the region a data base for teaching, research and planning purposes and to develop guidelines for a cohesive social policy which recognizes the needs of women and draws on their skills and talents for programme planning and execution. In addition, the project is seen as a means of contributing to the general body of knowledge on the position of women in social life. Specifically, a major contribution anticipated from the project is an extension of the boundaries of the notion of development and development planning during a period of rapid social and economic change within the Caribbean region.

The study was designed in two phases. The first covered the entire region and focused on the collection and review of available documentary material as well as the conduct of a small pilot study designed to test the instruments for use in a larger field study, styled Phase II. This latter phase consisted of detailed interviews of samples of women in Barbados, Antigua, St. Vincent and Guyana. Both quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques were employed. The objective was to develop an analytic approach which would permit the linkage between basic and applied research which the research team feels is necessary for the development of relevant policy programmes for women.

The Institute wishes to record its appreciation for the assistance provided by the following persons and agencies:

the Leverhulme Trust Fund which financed Phase I of the project;

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the persons, who must remain anonymous, whose invaluable comments helped to improve the quality of the papers;

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Joycelin Massiah
Deputy Director
Institute of Social and Economic Research

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Merle Hodge

INTRODUCTION

This paper is the work of a skilled analyst of human society with a clear personal position on the problem under research, a writer who occupies a confident vantage-point from which she has been able to compile a witty and thought-provoking study.

In this preliminary study, Brodber has examined two primary sources of opinion - the church and the press. I touch briefly on a third source - the Caribbean novel.

In these novels are images which provide ample support for the findings of Brodber - images of black women, white women, mulatto women, Indian women; poor working women and ladies 'in a fine castle'; women in Trinidad, Barbados and Guyana as well as in Martinique and Guadeloupe; women who operated within or outside of the 'official' prescriptions for female behaviour which prevailed in the first half of this century. What Brodber has gleaned from newspapers, the statements of churchmen and other historical documents, is borne out by the living portraits of grandmothers, mothers, aunts, god-mothers and nannies captured from intimate memory as they fostered two generations of creative writers - women as perceived by those upon whom their personality and their *modus operandi* have perhaps the greatest impact, the children in their care, in many cases their eldest or only child or ward and therefore the focus of a particularly close relationship.

What emerges in general from these novels is the tension between official and real culture, with the child protagonist living that tension every day of its life - the discrepancy between school and home, between the culture of books, newspapers and religious instruction and the culture practised by the adults with whom the child is most intimately involved and who are chiefly responsible for transmitting to the child the *mores* of the tribe: mother, grandmother, aunt ....

This tension is a permanent feature of Caribbean culture, and the discrepancy between Ideal Woman and Real Woman documented by Brodber is but one aspect of this phenomenon.

This is not to ignore the fact that everywhere in the world stereotypes of female behaviour are at variance with the actual behaviour of societies. The distance between

officially-disseminated female stereotype and actual female behaviour generally corresponds to the distance between metropolitan bourgeois culture and indigenous peasant culture.

This pattern is more complex in the case of the Caribbean. In Africa, in Asia, in Indo-China, there existed before colonization and there continued to exist under colonization an independent traditional culture which had its own validated prescriptions for, among other things, female behaviour. The great majority of women were never touched by the official prescription. The culture which has developed in the Caribbean, however, is a culture which as yet does not recognize itself, which sees itself as (and is, in many of its features) largely derivative of the Western metropolitan culture which remains the official culture *and* the effective prescription-making culture of the region. Behaviour is therefore more susceptible to the influence of stereotyping.

Where a stereotype belongs to a culture or to a stratum of society which is so 'remote' as to be inaccessible, then it does not determine *behaviour*, but it can affect self-image, the person's assessment of his/her own worth: stereotype can become, in the words of Brodber, 'part of the psychic landscape' of the person. In feudal Europe, even if the image of Ideal Womanhood was that of the frail lady in the fine castle, there was no way that the girl tending the cattle could begin to pattern her life on this stereotype, except of course in fiction (handed down to us as 'fairy tales') where the fantasy of social mobility was given free rein and once able-bodied cow-girls married princes to become frail ladies in fine castles.

In Caribbean novels on childhood, the potentially restricting stereotypes documented by Brodber for the same period are not seen to drastically modify the behaviour of the mass of women, i.e. black women. The stereotype was not an option that was available to the mothers and grandmothers of George Lamming, Michael Anthony, Austin Clarke or Jozeph Zobel.

White women of the same period are remembered by their sons as creatures whose lives were divided between brooding over their children and enhancing the social status of their husbands.

INTRODUCTION

Both Indian and white women as portrayed in the novels operate within (or rebel against) relatively narrow codes imposed by their respective cultures. In some regards the lower-class Indian woman is shown to have a greater flexibility than her white counterpart, but in general both Indian and white women appear as circumscribed by marital roles or by notions of female decorum which make them seem like prisoners when compared to their black counterparts.

The white women portrayed in *Christopher* (Drayton), *White Boy* (Nicole), *The Hummingbird Tree* (McDonald) and *Diary of a Sea Urchin* (Humfrey) often seem like part of the china or crystal that decorate the great-houses which they occupy, while to the young white boy, nannies and female servants represent an often disturbing vitality, rich experience and boundless wisdom. Indian women in, for example, *The Jumbie Bird* (Khan) and the work of V.S. Naipaul, function within a tightly-organized family system which offers little room for notions such as female independence or diversification of roles.

Where black or mulatto families have graduated into the middle class, the behaviour of their female members is determined by the 'white' stereotype, or, perhaps more accurately, is modified in the direction of this stereotype. Mittelholzer's portrait of his mother reveals an interesting mixture of in-a-fine-castle mores/expectations, and behaviours by which the frail lady rejoins her black lower-class counterpart:

> She has said it more than once. She knew absolutely nothing of sex when she married my father, and it came to her as a shock when she discovered on her wedding night what was expected of her ....Her capacity for logic has always been poor. Her approach to most problems was emotional ....There have been occasions when she showed that she could be practical.... A crisis brought out the practical in her, but in everyday, run-of-the mill situations she was hopelessly illogical and ineffectual.
>
> ...My mother, soft and sentimental, tender and considerate to the point of molly-coddling, turned abruptly into a stern chastiser and belaboured us with her hand or that leather thong, her eyes ablaze, her voice as savage as the whacks she delivered.
>
> E. Mittelholzer, *A Swarthy Boy* [pp.29-30].

It was social promotion that poured the black woman into the (not entirely comfortable) stereotype of womanhood. Brodber notes in her study of Jamaica that contrary to prevailing stereotypes "Housewifery and a high degree of sex-role differentiation in work were not before part of the black woman's behaviour. Nor was dependence on *one* man (p.36). And according to the picture we gain from our black writers of the lives of their female guardians and their cronies, stereotypes propounded in newspapers and the like remained a dead letter in relation to the personal life-styles of the majority of women, i.e. black working-class or peasant women.

The novels would need to be given closer study in order to document significant aberrations such as, for example, women of this class in liaisons with upper-class men ('kept' by such men). But the general picture drawn suggests that poverty, children and the absence of male support served to 'protect' the black woman from the diminution of prevailing stereotypes.

The black women portrayed in these novels are not the passive, supportive lesser half of the 'dyad' identified by Brodber; their lives are not devoted to comforting or serving the interests of one man in return for economic support, because men are either absent, or transient presences in their lives, or because even in the relationship of long-term concubinage, full maintenance of the woman is not necessarily part of the contract.

These women are not home-bound - they perform a multiplicity of roles both in the home and outside, for they are faced with ensuring the survival of self and children, and in addition the moral education of their charges.

Frail they have not the leisure to be - the mother figures in these novels wield a physical strength in their day-to-day tasks which makes them the objects of a certain awe in the eyes of their children.

These novels confirm the finding of Brodber that the black woman operated outside of officially-promulgated stereotypes of 'femininity' Her behaviour was determined by another set of prescriptions, chief of which was that the woman should stand up and fight on all fronts in order to ensure the best possible life for her children. But according to the novels under review, a corollary of this

was that every effort should be made to steer or catapult the next generation out of the sub-culture into which they were born, into the official image-making culture.

The ambitiousness of black women on behalf of their children is a theme that runs through the novels on childhood. The women portrayed make every humanly-possible sacrifice to contribute to the grooming of a child who has been singled out by the official education system as 'promising', for such a child represents the breakthrough of one's family line into the culture which one does not oneself practise (which one might consciously reject as being contrary to one's own habits and tastes) but which is nevertheless seen as more valid than one's own.

It is therefore not surprising that when an overall increase in social mobility makes this approved culture more accessible, new generations of Caribbean women will readily abandon the proven potential of their sex and consent to shrink into the stereotype - 'frail', supportive/dependent, etc.

There are interesting portraits in Caribbean writing of the black woman caught as it were in the process of metamorphosis. In Michael Anthony's novel on childhood, *The Year in San Fernando*, Mrs. Samuels and her daughter are black women on the rise, still straining towards the stereotype. Marva is a young girl whose mother is ambitious for her, has ensured her an education and is now fostering a relationship between "her precious Marva" and a well-to-do man from the town. The thought of social promotion for Marva affects not only the girl's behaviour, but also that of her mother:

> ...this status of Mr. Chandles must have been what was causing Mrs. Samuels such elation. She had always, when she went walking, stepped out of the Forestry Office with decorum, but now this decorum was grossly overdone, and the way she swung her umbrella and held her head to one side offended the people a great deal [p.2].

The number of black women who could envisage adopting what they saw as the mannerisms of upper-class women was at this time relatively small. But, as Brodber points out, "These models ... were internalized as 'right' if not as 'possible' and are seen today as part of woman's psychic landscape..." [p.55].

And today's image-makers have at their disposal more powerful instruments of persuasion than did those of the pre-Independence era. A crippling mystique of femininity today pervades our society through the agency of the mass media, affecting the self-image and the aspirations of hundreds of thousands of Caribbean women. An analysis of today's stereotypes of womanhood as projected by the mass media, and the extent of their impact upon the consciousness and behaviour of women, would have been a fitting complement to this study. One could look, for example, at the attitudes, behaviour and career choices of female secondary school students, who could be seen as those best placed to chart new and unprescribed directions for women. Today the stereotype has become oppressive.

One shares whole-heartedly the concern of Brodber that restrictive stereotypes of womanhood should not stifle the potential of women. One would have liked to share the optimism that in part motivates her investigation, her belief that the findings of this and similar studies can lead to action on the part of policy-makers:

> ...those who have social power can create images which define the self-perception of others ... those who enjoy social power can reduce the discrepancy between image and the kind of role performance that is based upon real capacity. Social power and with it the initiative to cast relevant models for Caribbean people to a greater extent today than formerly reside within the Caribbean. This sector hopes that even given the slender base of this paper, if damaging stereotypes are uncovered through this research process, policy makers will put into place the mechanisms for correction [p.

Alas, the seat of power and of policy-making is not yet located in the Caribbean. It is located wherever the parent companies of the makers of consumer products are located. The pre-eminent function of the mass media is that of marketing, both through direct advertising and in the ethos of entertainment presented. Women are a prime target of advertising, as the spenders of family budgets, and the messages of advertising and the mass media in general serve to entrench a certain image of womanhood which no one, neither the manufacturer nor our Caribbean policy-maker is in any hurry to change. For the most part the Caribbean leadership is as accepting of the female stereotype as any other member of the population. Few Caribbean governments, to date, have seen fit to set any significant machinery in motion to realize the full potential of women.

TOWARDS A DOCUMENTATION OF STEREOTYPES

Erna Brodber

TOWARDS A DOCUMENTATION OF STEREOTYPES

Conceptual Framework

This study is part of the Women in the Caribbean Project undertaken by the Institute of Social and Economic Research of the University of the West Indies. The larger study, concerned with looking at role performance, adaptive strategies and the status of Caribbean women, is designed to proceed in two phases: a documentary phase (I) and an empirical phase (II), and around six themes: (1) women and the family, (2) women and employment, (3) women and education, (4) women and law, (5) women and politics and (6) perceptions of women.

The work presented here falls in Phase I of the research programme outlined above and itself represents only some aspects of the original design for the sector called 'perceptions of women'. It was the intention of this sector to cover a wider range of persons and institutions who over time had expressed in print opinions or attitudes concerning their expectations of the Caribbean woman's behaviour and who had projected images of what they thought she was or should be. In this respect, this paper has fallen short of the sector's intention. It has covered only two of several sources.

The perceptions sector, operating out of the theories of person perceptions, image and stereotype formation and general role theory, advanced the position that -

1. Human beings in daily intercourse with each other need to and do form opinions and attitudes concerning one another.

2. From these opinions and attitudes, images are formed, complete with a set of expectancies concerning role performance of the other.

3. These opinions, attitudes and images and subsequent expectations are often not a true picture of the other's performance. In the course of social interaction therefore, distortions can exist between image and real performance.

4. This distortion is reduced with open-mindedness as the kind of interaction which allows for amending the image.

5. Where this does not happen, the image which is a distorted view of real performance becomes perpetuated and crystalized. These distorted but crystalized images we call stereotypes.

6. The process of crystalization of an image or stereotype begins with the individual human being and continues into the area of social interaction.

7. An individual may hold firmly to an attitude concerning another. It is when this attitude is communicated to others and held as firmly by them, that it becomes crystalized into an image or stereotype. At this stage, it enters into the culture as the right way of behaviour and actors are constrained to behave accordingly.

8. Crystallization of any attitude, image or stereotype depends in part on the willingness of the receivers within the communication set to accept this definition of reality and on the willingness of the actors to adjust their behaviour accordingly.

9. Adjustment to a stereotype requires the co-operation of the perceived. Where stereotypes are projected through time so that generations of perceived without hesitation perform in accordance with them, such actors have become their own captors.

According to this conceptual framework, the attitudes and opinions held concerning the behaviour of the Caribbean woman could eventuate into stereotypes and affect her role performance, adaptive strategies and her status. Whether this happens at all depends in the first place upon the position of the image-holders within the polity and on whether their opinions and attitudes support each other to form logical, if untrue statements. It depends, too, on the relationship between the image-holders and the perceived and performing women within the communication system. To examine the relationship between attitudes and opinions, images and stereotypes and the role performance of the Caribbean woman requires:

(i) that opinions and attitudes of persons expressing themselves concerning the behaviour of the Caribbean woman be collected;

(ii) that the social status of these persons be assessed;

(iii) that the extent to which these various opinions of discrete persons cohere into images and integrated systems of thought be established;

(iv) that the connections between these expressed opinions and the behaviour of women be plotted.

It requires, too, that the role performance of women be examined and all of this over an extended period of time.

To this end, it was this sector's intention to collect opinions and attitudes of constituted bodies such as the government, the press and the church; individual observers of the calibre of Lady Nugent;[1] professional observers such as anthropologists and sociologists; creative writers. These are all persons and institutions whose opinions have been printed and, we presume, disseminated. In addition, we intended to look at the attitudes, opinions and images of Caribbean women which emanate from the body of anonymous folk songs and tales and proverbs. We would also, of course, try to catalogue the behaviour of the Caribbean women. We intended to examine these matters as they occurred between 1838 and the present day.

The promise of the original design cannot be fulfilled at this point. Only two sources of opinions have been tapped - the church and the press. It is not possible therefore to describe the evolution of an image or to assess its strength. This paper begins with the assumption that the opinions and attitudes which it documents were strong images and were beamed at a significant body of women. It continues to be grounded in the theoretical framework outlined above and despite its narrow base, tries to answer the sector's questions: What images of Caribbean women exist? To what extent have these images become stereotypes which have infected Caribbean women and retarded their development?

This sector shares with the others in the larger study a pragmatic concern for the development of Caribbean people and, in this instance, its women. It is aware that the projection of images can have a deleterious effect on actors but knows too that it can operate in the reverse. It knows that those who have social power can create images which define the self perception of others but it knows as well that those who enjoy social power can reduce the discrepancy between image and the kind of role performance that is based upon real capacity. Social power and with it the initiative to cast relevant models

for Caribbean people to a greater extent today than formerly reside within the Caribbean. This sector hopes that even given the slender base of this paper, if damaging stereotypes are uncovered through this research process, policy makers will put into place the mechanism for correction.

Terms Defined

Caribbean Woman: The term Caribbean normally describes those territories washed by the Caribbean Sea. In this study it refers to the English-speaking territories and most specifically to Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad. The availability of historical data has determined this choice of territories.

The ultimate intention of this study, as we have stated above, is to look at the boomerang effect of person perception and stereotyping on the Caribbean woman's assessment of herself and her consequent deployment of her potential. To sensibly assess the effect of a particular stereotype or message on another ordinarily requires that we look at the subject as a being capable of achieving the same levels as any other person. We then look at the difference between potential and the stereotype. We know, however, that cultures prescribe roles and that the manifestation of potential differs with cultural prescription. We begin the empirical search therefore by looking at the subject in her capacity as a target of cultural prescriptions. We then note whether the new stereotype merges with and reinforces other cultural messages or is by itself a catalyst. We look to see also whether this stereotype influences her personal culture at all. This line of reasoning dictates that we view the Caribbean as a cultural system, that in the first place we note its core prescriptions for woman's behaviour and that we use this prescription as a base line for measuring stereotype effect. It dictates too that we note the social distance between the image creators and the perceived, to better assess the probability of the internalization of such stereotypes. Finally, we look at how both stereotypes and cultural prescriptions limit or advance the level of achievement of the Caribbean woman.

The Caribbean as a Cultural System: The English-speaking Caribbean has experienced slavery and its socio-cultural consequences, the most significant for a study of

perceptions being differential de-humanization and cultural imperialism. Non-white people and in particular black people have been perceived as cattle and machinery and their culture as heathen mumbo-jumbo by those - the Europeans - who transported them into the Caribbean and controlled their economic lives.[2]

There is evidence that a creolization process existed which constantly eroded the polarities between European and non-European, between white skinned people and others and that by the end of legal slavery, 1838, it had begun to produce Caribbean forms.[3] We have had to examine these forms and the prescriptions they hold for Caribbean woman's behaviour.

It is a fact of Caribbean existence that island territories are isolated one from another and that the cultural background of the overlords as well as the labourers who peopled the territory has not been uniform from island to island. While it is true then that the islands have commonly experienced differential de-humanization, cultural imperialism and the socialization process, the articles of culture have varied from island to island. We have assumed that the cultural prescriptions for woman's behaviour, the content of stereotypes and perhaps the distance between image-makers and the perceived, are likewise differentiated. For these reasons we have chosen in our investigations to view the Caribbean women in territorial categories and in racial categories.

Data Base

This is a study in historical sociology and as such it relies heavily on documentary material. There has been no preponderance of essays on the conditions of the women of the Caribbean readily available for analysis. The preoccupations of the 1970s are not necessarily those of the 1870s. Data collection has been consequently slow and sparse, and images presented in this study the end-product of much inference. We do not see this as a methodological millstone but as a social fact: there was no political movement supporting woman's rights in the Caribbean in the 19th century and early 20th century. This condition does, however, make it that much more difficult for us to get into the psyche to describe attitudes, opinions, images and stereotypes.

The sources from which we have 'inferred' images are, for the press, the longest running daily national newspaper in each of the three territories Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad. We therefore examined in Barbados, the *Barbadian* which later became the *Times* and looked as well at the *Barbados Advocate*. In Jamaica we examined the *Daily Gleaner* and in Trinidad, the *Trinidad Royal Gazette* and the *Trinidad Guardian*. We have looked at these sources in each territory from 1838, the year of Emancipation of slaves in the British Caribbean to the 1970s. We have chosen to look only at Wednesday's reporting in each of these newspapers.[4]

The opinions of the clergy were more difficult to locate. For Barbados the most accessible records were the journals of the Moravian's Sharon Mission; for Jamaica the Rev. George S. Henderson's account of his ministry and for Trinidad, the Rev. E.B. Underhill's account of his visit there. Comments from the clergy found in the newspaper search were used as well.

To describe woman's role performance between 1838 and the 1970s, we have looked at newspaper reports, published articles and books and, in the case of Jamaica, an unpublished collection of oral accounts of life in early 20th century Jamaica.[5]

Organization

This paper is divided into three sections each dealing with a specific territory. In each section we present the most poignant image of woman/Caribbean woman that appears in print. We then present documents which describe Caribbean women in the everyday performance of their roles. We present these actors according to their colour and the period of time in which they lived. We next look at the cultural prescriptions for each colour/racial group, and finally attempt to estimate whether the image presented can reasonably be performed by the women, given the roles culturally prescribed for them. Where the fit between image and cultural prescription is very great we treat and discuss this discrepancy as a stereotype. In our conclusion we discuss the relationship between images, stereotypes and potential and see whether any of these factors changed over time and if their relationship to each other changed. The time for these proposals is divided into 1838-1900; 1901-Independence; post-Independence.

Summary

We wished to look at images of the Caribbean woman and the extent to which they have developed into stereotypes which have been internalized by her and negatively affect her intrinsic capacity or, conversely, advance her development. To do this, we have isolated statements and comments of two key image-makers in the Caribbean context - the material selected by editors and published in their newspapers and the statements of churchmen. We begin our investigations with the period called Emancipation and ending in 1900, continue with the period from 1901 to Independence and end with the post Independence period. Using the cultural prescription as a base line, we see whether the images emerging are stereotypes and try to measure the degree of internalization of these stereotypes. We look at three island territories - Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad, and use Wednesday's reporting of the longest running daily newspaper in each territory along with all available missionary reports as our central data base for our search for images. A range of other documentary sources is used to describe women's real behaviour.

BARBADOS

Images 1838-1900

Abel Clinkett was publisher/editor of the *Barbadian* in the years immediately after Emancipation. The *Barbadian* later became the *Times*. This newspaper, committed to "good intentions, liberty of the press and to speak the truth with no prejudice or slander", devoted most of its newsprint to advertisements. However, on its front page on Wednesday 10 June 1846 the following appeared:

> One of the finest pictures of female character we have ever met with is given by Edmund Burke of his own wife ... "good sense, goodness of heart, sweetness of manners and disposition". Every political and social care of his vanished when he entered his roof ...

This is the image of an angel waiting at home to serve its mate: this is 'one of the finest pictures of female character' Abel Clinkett had ever met.

On 1 August 1846 the following appeared, perhaps copied from a British newspaper:

> What is the most difficult punctuation? - Putting a stop to a woman's tongue.
>
> A woman entering your room to put your papers to right, is chaos come again.

We do not think that Abel Clinkett wrote these quips: he selected them and must have felt them relevant comments or thought that his readers would think them so. On the strength of his selection of items, we feel we can say that Abel Clinkett in some part of his mind, saw women as supportive home-makers given to ceaseless, pointless chatter with a passion for tidying away without reference to the substance of the articles being handled. This image he ~~projected to his readers~~.

Role Performance 1838-1900

White Women: The following also appear in Clinkett's newspaper in January and February of 1838:

> I do hereby give notice to all persons not to trust Mary Emily my wife as I will not be answerable for anything taken up by her.
>
> Thomas Sampson [31 January 1838].

> Mr. Editor, in reference to Mr. Thomas Sampson's advertisement and in justice to myself I beg to declare that since my marriage I have never taken up any article whatsoever on his account nor for my own character's sake did I ever intend to do so. Mr. Sampson's extraordinary attachment to a servant has been the sole cause of his unkindness towards me. At his urgent request, my brother-in-law Mr. Crick undertook to board and lodge me and I am sorry to add, Mr. Crick was obliged to warrant him for the 1st month's maintenance which evidently elicited his advertisement here alluded to.
>
> With greatest respect
> Mary Emily Sampson [6 February 1838].

> I have seen with surprise that Mary Emily Sampson has had the audacious impudence to reply to my advertisement by foul and infamous calumny ...
>
> Thomas Sampson [13 February 1838].

> Your false declaration ------ even your beloved housekeeper would evidence that you so requested me ...
>
> Mr. Crick [20 February 1838].

Here is evidence that at least one Barbadian woman was not an empty-headed, chattering supportive angel but a being who would publicly defend herself when offended.

There are other women who refused to be supportive wives and left the care and protection of their husbands. Elizabeth Ann Howell did so in 1838; Kitty Ann Smith did so in 1846 and so did Betsy Ann Bowden in 1877 and Lucretia Blades in 1885. Though not all turned the matter into a strident public affair, it must have been clear to readers of the *Barbadian* and the *Times*, that the Barbadian woman was not always one who could conceive of no other form of existence than being the supportive wife to a husband.

There were Euro-cultured, high status women in Barbados; there were black, ex-slave afro-cultured women in Barbados; free coloured women and expatriate whites. The records do not say what status group or culture these women above are from. We do know, however, that Mary Emily and Thomas Sampson were of high enough status to have had their marriage reported in the *Barbadian* and to have been married at the Cathedral, presumably in Bridgetown, two years before their famous fracas.[6] Mary Emily was the daughter of a merchant of 'this town', Bridgetown we assume, and Thomas Sampson was wealthy enough to pay city rates of £40 and £7 in 1851 for properties in Broad Street and Roebuck Street.[7] It is hardly likely that they were black and very likely that they were Euro-cultured whites.

Barbadian women were also business managers, as the following advertisements in the *Barbadian* and the *Times* suggest:

> Miss Andrews shortly expects a music master to join her music studio ... [27 June 1838].
>
> Miss Ann Thorpe respectfully informs the public ... [concerning her] pickle preserves and confectionery making [27 June 1838].
>
> Miss Andrews having been put to great inconvenience by the non-payment of her creditors ... puts the matter into her lawyers' hands [8 January 1840].
>
> For Rent - sitting and bedrooms - Miss Elder [1 April 1840].
>
> Miss Hamblin respectfully informs friends that her benefit is fixed for March 6th. The Governor will honour the theatre with his presence ... Presentations: *The Wife or a Tale of Mantua* by Sheridan Knowles and *The Youth that never saw Women* [4 March 1840].
>
> Mrs. Lowe, late Miss Entwistle ... has a millinery and dressmaking business [12 May 1841].
>
> Mrs. Archibald Lamont begs to announce that she will remove in a few days, her baking business and all its branches [21 February 1844].
>
> To parents and guardians - Mrs. Munroe announces her intention to open a seminary for a limited number of young ladies [13 November 1844].

Barbadian women were managers of their own businesses, were often unmarried and, one presumes, took total responsibility for the administration of these businesses. We note that 'Mrs. Lowe, late Miss Entwistle' continued her business despite change in her marital status. Music, teaching, clothing, food preservation and guest-house operations were their areas. Again, the racial and cultural characteristics of these women are not clear from the records. We can infer, however, from the economic conditions of free black and newly emancipated black women, that the business women above were likely to be white or coloured Euro-centred women. The following excerpts suggest that these business women could have been expatriate whites.

> Miss Andrews denies rumour that she is to return to England. She is in fact, sending for a well educated and accomplished lady [1 January 1841].

> A lady now resident with a family in Barbados - educated in England in Music, French, Drawing, wishes a situation as a governess in one of the neighbouring islands [December 1847].

Coloured Women: It has been fairly well documented by Alleyne in his *Historic Barbados* [1] that women of colour were among the proprietors of guest houses in 19th century Barbados. The extract below describes one of these women, some of whom Alleyne [1 pp.71-74] suggests were 'of questionable personal reputation'.

> On Broad Street, on the site where C.F. Harrison & Co. Limited is located, there stood, for many years during the 19th Century, the hotel of Caroline Lee. She was the younger sister of Betsy Austin: but unlike Betsy and most of the other ladies engaged in the hotel trade she was diminutive in size. In an effort perhaps to compensate for this, she habitually wore an enormous turban. Caroline Lee appears to have opened her hotel at some time around 1840. Although allegedly of questionable personal reputation, her establishment became a fashionable and popular venue for official balls and dinners, as well as other social functions. According to one guest, Caroline charged just $3 per day for accommodation, but she made up for this moderate charge by 'padding' the bill with an endless array of extras.

> When Caroline Lee died in 1860, she was the owner of two hotels, including one in McGregor Street, as well as four houses in nearby Dromedary Lane. She left legacies for her children, as well as bequests of 12 months wages for each of her servants. In accordance with the directions contained in her will, her hotels and houses were sold shortly after her death.
>
> Caroline Lee lies buried in St. Mary's churchyard. Unfortunately, her grave can no longer be identified. Nevertheless, she has not been forgotten: a local yellow-skinned variety of sweet potato is named after her.

Free coloured women were likely to be seen in this age as business women of shady characters, the antithesis of the supportive angel.

Black ex-slave women:

> Wanted - Female house servant; honest, discreet servant of all work. None need apply who are carried away by the false and ridiculous notions of freedom and who think it degrading to scour and scrub [5 December 1838].

This advertisement was clearly directed at the ex-slave, the African Barbadian woman. She was obviously asserting her sense of self and independence as stridently as Mary Emily Sampson. She likewise asserted her image of right behaviour for herself upon the policy and activities of the Moravian Church.

The Moravian Church began as a small sect, the United Brethren. It was, as this name suggests, an association of men and had an image, we assume, of woman as less capable of pastoral office than men. They served in Barbados, one of their missions being Sharon. It is clear from their records that there were pastoral jobs from which women were excluded but the frequency with which the combined 'brethren and sister' appears, as in the excerpt

> Sr. K. having been confined to her bed all week, Brother K.had to speak with the New People alone which he found exceeding fatiguing and almost more than his strength [November 1838],

establishes that women were integral to the important task of 'speaking'.[8]

The Moravians had come to work among the 'heathens'. We assume that the 'brother and sister' mentioned are freed blacks. If this is so, then the black Barbadian woman must have made it clear to the missionaries that she was as capable of pastoral responsibility as the male, must have asserted her sense of self to the point where one minister was led to comment:

> Mary Wharton and Edward Lynch were married this morning. They are both Sunday school teachers and she especially a very regular, attentive and well conducted person [January 1853].

If they asserted their responsibility and piety of self upon the missionaries, they must also have asserted their feeling of ownership of their bodies and their right to do as they felt proper with it, irrespective of church dictates. The following excerpts describe the black Barbadian woman's refusal to maintain marriage bonds which she found uncomfortable; in two cases despite the efforts of the church to effect reconciliation, and in one case despite the fact that she was a 'sister' in the church.

> ... a third [a sister] who was sometime ago excluded on account of adultery, refused to the last to make up with her husband (although he was willing to forgive her) and died in the [?] state [October 1838].

> Br. E. ... endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with Fraser (residing there) and his wife. It was in vain that he argued with the woman. She declared she would (never) return to his house nor allow him to come to hers [5 August 1852].

The ability of the black Barbadian woman to take a position contrary to that of the authorities appears through the records of these missionaries. Marriage seems to have been an article of faith sold by the Moravians. This is evidenced by the fact that members were very often ex-communicated not only for adultery but for fornication as well. But Anne Monday refused to urge marriage on her pregnant daughter, contrary to the advice of the church leaders:

> ... the other, a man belonging to the New People speaking class, by whom the daughter of Anne Monday ... a court [?] sister is pregnant ...
>
> We could do nothing as the mother of the girl refused to let her marry her seducer as he is a very bad character. Of course, he will not get speaking again [22 June 1852].

There is evidence too, that the women who dawned on the missionaries' consciousness enough to be noted in their journals took justice into their own hands and avenged themselves:

> ... a fire had occurred last night at the home of a member named Ford, who it seems had taken into his house a bad man named Neblet and a loose girl, the daughter of a member named Alleyne. The wife of Neblet having tracked him to the house of Ford is said to have fired the house ... [22 July 1852].

The Barbadian women in the period 1838-1900 were much more than the 'finest pictures of female character' as Edmund Burke described them and as Abel Clinkett might have felt they should be. His own wife most certainly was more. She took over and ran the paper after his death.

Images 1901-Independence

It is the *Barbados Advocate* that is our image-maker in the 1901-Independence time segment. This newspaper by 1950 carried such columns as 'Lonely Hearts', 'Carib Calling' and 'Woman's World', which seemed to be beamed particularly at women and featured news and problems of women. The choice of items tells us what the editors see as woman's world, whom they consider to be newsworthy and possible role models, and whom the Barbadian woman should emulate.

The readership is told and shown pictures of British and American film stars, visiting Euro-American heiresses, the wedding of a European princess, the British Queen Elizabeth riding with her children and attending social functions, the activities of the governor's European wife and pale-faced newly wed couples cutting cakes with swords. The socialites chosen for mention are invariably white and very often foreign. The article paraphrased

below succinctly summarizes the image of the proper woman which the columns mentioned above convey:

> "A Husband's Dream"
>
> French Green Border Club which introduces bachelors to prospective brides chose as Household Pearl of 1950, a 26 year old girl for cooking an appetizing joint, dyeing a skirt, remodelling a hat, taking care of a child, tailoring a suit and receiving guests graciously [4 January 1950 reprinted from a Reuter (Paris) report of 1 January 1950].

This 1950 'Household Pearl' is not far removed from Edmund Burke's picture of the supportive wife which so appealed to Abel Clinkett of the *Barbadian* in 1838. Barbadian women, in the meantime, continued to leave their husband's 'care and protection', to run guest houses, to seek and to offer jobs as clerks and shop assistants and to organize such women's training programmes as the Young Women's Christian Association and the Housecraft Centre, the latter devoted to the upgrading of distaff skills of Barbadian women in preparation for jobs in Canada.

The Barbadian woman also continued to assume responsibility for settling her personal grouse, as Neblet's wife did in 1852 - and found herself charged with murder. She continued, as in the late 19th century, to demonstrate her religious piety through fasts divinely ordered.

Stereotypes

The Barbadian newspapers - key image makers - diversified their fare in the post-1900 period from advertisements of merchandise to retail social news and images. The images were of wealthy white women living leisured lives supported by the finance of husbands, or others who found their physical features attractive. The most actively occupied of these, such as the British Queen and the Governor's wife, are social hostesses and consorts financially supported by a male: they derive their social significance from this connection. 'Burke's wife' has by the mid-20th century crystallized into the 'Household Pearl', a being whose activities are limited to the household and who depends on a man for financial support.

In reality, however, Barbadian women continued, as we have seen, to behave as their 19th century forebears had done, to seek jobs outside of the household, and to support themselves without recourse to a male breadwinner. That the media continued to isolate just one aspect of the behaviour of women and to project this as 'woman-in-action' is tantamount to the stereotyping of a role. Stereotypes might, of course, be projected but have no effect upon the real behaviour of the actors.

Images - Post-Independence

It would seem from post-Independence newspaper reports that Barbadian women began to articulate their view of right behaviour for women only with the onslaught of the women's liberation movement on the northern continent. This peaked with the UN declaration of a year for women.

Below are some of the views expressed by young Barbadian women which we have classified according to the image projected.[9]

Women as Workers

> It is also important that she is considered for the same promotions and concessions as a man would. I appreciate that a woman could not actually compete with a man in jobs involving heavy manual labour. However, should a woman decide on such a job, then she should not be prevented from doing so.
>
> Throughout the centuries man has been looked upon as "sole providers", "breadwinners", etc., but this is as a result of the criteria on which society was based. But society is constantly changing even though it may resist change.
>
> - Sharon Harvey, 19 year old medical student.

Women as Mates

> Beside every great man, there is a woman. I know most people say behind, but I have deliberately changed it because I feel the woman's role is equally important, so let's face it and give Women's Lib. a chance.
>
> - Stephanie Springer, 18 year old secretary.

> All but gone is the idea that wives should give up their jobs if they get married. However, if possible, it is advantageous for a wife to be at home during the first five years of her children's lives, since this is a crucial learning period of a child's life.
>
> - Sharon Harvey, 19 year old medical student.

Femininity as Women's Over-riding Quality

> By taking to violence and the "burning of bra" trend and declaring freedom they are losing their femininity, which I think should be the main weapon used in their fight for equality.
>
> - Joyce Griffiths, 19 year old solicitor's clerk.

> I am in favour of Women's Liberation, as long as it does not detract from a woman's femininity, or affect her duties as a wife and mother. A woman's first duty should be the home, and her being considered equal should never cause her husband or children to suffer.
>
> - Annice Dalrymple, 20 year old bank clerk.

Cultural Prescriptions

The Barbadian Woman as a Worker

Barbados has had two significant racial groups and cultures: the black African and the white European. In its earliest post-Columbian phase, settlement emphasized farm building, merchandising and administration, most of these tasks being done by adventurers from the British Isles. As in most frontiers, this population would have had a male bias and women recruited and attracted in a later stage of the settlement's development. Work in most of its aspects would have been carried out by men.

With the expansion of a subsistence farming economy into a plantation society, more and more differentiated tasks arose. For these tasks, labour was procured from Africa in great numbers. The male bias in European migration does not appear here to the same extent. Black women were recruited as well, as they could give their labour and at the same time produce bonded labour. Roles

prescribed for them were therefore mothering and labouring. With respect to the latter, we find them dispersed in many areas of economic activity, from household tasks to agricultural labour in the fields.

With options to migrate or not to migrate and with the capacity to choose, white women would have chosen the less distressing jobs as we have earlier seen, of teaching, child-care and petty manufacturing. It can fairly be said therefore that the Barbadian pre-emancipation society assigned tasks to women differentially on the grounds of colour and culture. Black women would have operated and been made to operate as labourers first and where nature allowed this, mothers. This differential and this prescription was enforceable by any of the many sanctions available to proprietors of land and labour in this period.

Women as Mates

Women provide men with sexual relief which can be arranged and was arranged in slavery Barbados through various forms of relationships ranging from the casual contact to the long term contract. Some men, like Edmund Burke, need in addition to have within their reach 'good sense, goodness of heart, sweetness of manners and disposition'. These qualities they expect to be provided on a long term basis by one woman: the legal wife. A prerequisite to procuring what Mrs. Flannigan, commenting on Antigua society, calls this 'necessary appendage' [14 p.22] is a high degree of control over one's social and economic condition. This circumstance was unavailable to black enslaved men. White men in Barbados therefore came to need and choose legal wives earlier than black men did.

It is possible that white men did find in black women the qualities of 'good sense, goodness of heart, sweetness of manners and disposition'. In addition to possessing these qualities, however, an acceptable mate would have been expected to assume the functions of a social hostess. The social mores did not sanction public interaction between colour groups. A white man was hardly likely to endanger his social relationships in order to acquire qualities residing in a black woman, access to which qualities his proprietary relationship to her gave him rights in the first place. The early Barbadian black women were therefore hardly likely to see themselves and

to be seen as wives of the kind described by Burke and sanctioned by Abel Clinkett.

Mrs. Flannigan [14 pp.180-81] makes the following comment on the coloured women of Antigua which is likely to apply to the Barbadian situation before and after Emancipation:

> The coloured women participated in the prejudice of their masters and as they became mothers of female children, they reared them up in the same spirit and inculcated into their minds that it was more honourable and praise-worthy to inhabit the harem of a white man, than to be the lawful wife of a man of colour.

That those coloured hotel keepers mentioned above were often unmarried and were felt to have obtained their original capital in 'shady ways' suggests that Mrs. Flannigan's comment might have some applicability here and that the Barbadian coloured women were debarred from and barred themselves from the wife role. The difficulties faced by the Sharon missionaries in maintaining marital unions among their congregation reinforces the view that wifehood was not a role prescribed by the culture for non-whites. We can say then that though images of the proper woman, i.e. a supportive wife, existed, black and coloured women of the slavery and immediate post-slavery period neither could nor wanted to use them as models.

Internalized Stereotypes

The model of the Barbadian woman which emerges from the comments of young Barbadian women cited above and which they have internalized to the point of suggesting modifications to it, is one of a woman who

(i) has not been 'considered for the same promotions and concessions as a man would';

(ii) has seen men as the 'sole providers', 'bread-winners, etc';

(iii) has stood behind 'the great man';

(iv) has given up her job on getting married;

(v) has been aware that femininity is the 'main weapon used in their fight for equality', a weapon which they are in danger of losing;

(vi) has seen the 'home' as her first duty and the responsibilities as 'wife and mother' as her first priority.

The above articles imply a kind of role differentiation within the family and within the wider society such that women are kept out of the job market and are limited to housewifery activities and to the roles of 'wife' and 'mother'. The articles imply that this situation exists and needs to be changed. Our data do not allow us to speak to the issue of job discrimination on the basis of sex. We can say, however, that the Barbadian woman has certainly had the opportunity, need and motivation to be a worker and breadwinner. Her efforts at mothering, often as sole breadwinner and familial authority, have been prescribed through the ages as attested in the following excerpts:

> What makes my mother grieve, if she cannot get to church on Sunday, she feels [?] it too much. I get home, she makes me tell her the text and all about the sermon. She has been a good mother to us. She gave us our education and brought us here [to Sharon mission] to get our grace. We cannot forsake her. The Lord would never look at us if we did. I thank her everyday for what she has done. She has been a good mother [From the Diary of the Sharon missionaries ... entry April 1853].

> Our women, are encouraged to believe that it is only in motherhood that life holds for them the greatest fulfilment, and a life without a child for a man never seems to carry the same implications as a similar situation for the woman. In fact, should a man proclaim that he had no desire to father children there will not be the same raised eyebrows as if a woman made a similar announcement about not wanting to be a mother. The woman is more likely to be regarded as some type of freak while the man's attitude might be brushed aside merely as selfishness [*Advocate-News*, 16 June 1975].

It is, however, on the issues of relationship to the male, source of livelihood and definition of boundaries of activity that the model contained in the comments of the generation of women of the 1970s diverges most from role performance documented, and so closely resembles the Burke-Clinkett model. From their photographs, these young women of the 1970s range from coloured to black. Why they should hold images of the Barbadian woman which seem so far from that prescribed for and performed by their forebears needs to be explained.

Image, Stereotype and Cultural Prescription

One of the consequences of enslavement of blacks by whites in Barbados was the development of the understanding that a prerequisite to social mobility was an ability to adopt the life style of the whites. This life style was projected by the media and clergy in words and exhortations and, with advances in technology, photographs of weddings and of women entertaining or at leisure came to monopolize a great deal of newsprint. In small communities such as Barbados the communications flow is fairly smooth. Both men and women are therefore aware of the 'white' style of behaviour for women and for male-female relationships. Whether they adopt this form depends on whether they have the economic wherewithal to operationalize it and the desire for social mobility.

With the increase in the number of academically trained black men and their acceptance into the white collar jobs has come the cash base with which to acquire the 'necessary appendage'. Upwardly mobile women have become willing to design their lives to fit the stereotypes. Medical students, bank clerks, solicitors' clerks and secretaries belong to the class of women who are at risk of being asked to restrict their activities to housewifery and mothering. It is to their credit that they question a stereotype which, with economic progress, has entered creole culture as an alternative course of behaviour for women and which they have obviously internalized. These young women who for us represent the generation of the 1970s currently operate outside of the household. Whether after marriage they continue like 'Mrs. Lowe, the late Miss Entwistle' to develop their extra-distaff potential depends on the extent to which they are imprisoned by the stereotype of woman as a 'Household Pearl' and supportive wife.

JAMAICA

Images 1838-1900

The *Daily Gleaner* was first published 13 September 1834 and is today Jamaica's leading daily newspaper. It began its life by promising to its readership "much original matter and choice selections from European and American publications of merit ..." In its first issue, on its front page, there appeared a short story "Excellent Ellen". Ellen is a lovely young lady, of 'pale delicate frame', who in this story 'sobs hysterically', producing 'delicious tears'. Our heroine is portrayed as the good woman whose filial obedience prolongs her father's life.

In this same issue, there appears the following prose poem:

> Man is strong, woman is beautiful
> Man is great in action, woman suffering
> Man talks to convince, woman to persuade and please
> Man shines abroad, woman at home
> Man has a rugged heart, woman a tender one
> Man prevents misery, woman relieves it
> Man has science, woman tact
> Man has judgement, woman taste
> Man is daring, woman is diffident and unassuming
> [13 September 1834].

The origin of this article has not been stated but the image of woman as a suffering, beautiful creature, eager to please; as a tactful, diffident, tender-hearted creature confined to the home, comes across clearly through this poem.

Role Performance 1838-1900

White and Coloured Women: The Jamaican woman might indeed have had the qualities mentioned above. Our data do not allow us to comment on this. But if these qualities existed as well as the passivity implied in the two excerpts, there was also competence in the academic and performing arts as the following attests:

> Wanted by a lady competent to teach Music, French, German and Drawing in addition to the usual branches of correct English instruction, a situation as Governess or companion to a lady [September 1866].

Then there was Mrs. Inchbald who wrote 'plays and farces' which as is evidenced in the excerpt below, were actually performed:

> Wanted: Mrs. Inchbald's plays and farces - any person having a set to dispose of at a reasonable price ... [September 1866].

Women like Madam Petipas entertained publicly at the Theatre Royal offering songs 'in exquisite style', and such as Mesdames Allen, Brooks, Campbell, de Cordova, Hodgson, Bowerbank, Bradshaw, Espeut and Turnbull ran church bazaars for their favourite charities.

The Jamaican woman's occupation was not confined to the arts and entertaining in this period. She was involved in business enterprises as well. Mrs. Edwards kept and administered her lodgings, Rebecca Brandon was a business proprietor, Mrs. Stewart kept lodgings at the corner of Duke and Laws Streets,Mrs. Foderingham kept her Clarendon House at the corner of East and Tower Streets, Mrs. Jane Stewart and her daughter Mrs. Eliza Jones operated theirs from 'Parade Villa' and 'Parisian House' and Esther Morais kept a shop at 22 Orange Street where she not only sold matzos which she made, but imported as well from New York for the retail market.[10]

As in Barbados, there were in Jamaica women who chose to leave their husband's homes and there was at least one woman, Drucilla Gibson [26 November 1879] who, unlike 'Excellent Ellen', publicly, and as it proved wrongfully, accused her strict father of incest. While, therefore, as we have said, there is no evidence to establish how much and to what extent the Jamaican woman had the qualities shown in 'Excellent Ellen' and in the prose-poem, it seems hardly likely that the guest house keepers, the business women and the entertainers were 'unassuming and diffident'. The image does not fit with the reality.

Jamaica, like Barbados in this period 1838-1900, had two major racial/cultural groups, the white Euro-cultured and the black Afro-cultured. In addition, there existed here as in Barbados, a collectivity of brown-skinned people called 'coloured'. The racial origins of the women mentioned above have not been stated. The news items have no photographs attached to them. There is therefore no clear indication that the businesswomen,

the governesses and teachers encountered in this search, shared the physical aspects of the model implicit in the character 'Excellent Ellen' - 'pale, delicate frame'. The name of one businesswoman, Esther Morais and her occupation - making and selling matzos - indicate that at least one of them was Jewish and therefore pale-skinned.

Advertisements appearing in later issues of the newspaper for housekeeping jobs openly ask for 'fair girls'. If housekeeping, a service occupation, required 'fair girls', then given the relationship between colour and social status and wealth in Jamaica, women with capital to run viable hotels were hardly likely to be black and were more likely to be white or coloured. We know that one of these hotel keepers of the 1850s was coloured and gather from the excerpt below, that she was 'representative of her class'.

> Mary Seacole was a notable figure in her day and representative of a class of Jamaica woman who has wholly passed away. Unlike the majority of hotel keepers 50 years ago, she was married and of course fat. They sat in the entrance to the spacious halls like an olympic deity, profoundly conscious of their own importance and English to the backbone. They dressed their hair gaily, and wore huge earrings. Mary Seacole had twice kept a hotel in Panama and in 1854 opened the British Hotel in Crimea. She had wanted to go to India with the army but Queen Victoria would not let her. This kind of Jamaican hotel-keeper and tradeswoman of independent means, kind-hearted, and of questionable morality, genuine patriotism and hearty goodwill have almost entirely passed away [R.C. Walcott, *Daily Gleaner*, 27 July 1905].

We note in passing the close resemblance physically and in reputation attributed to the coloured female hotelkeeper in Jamaica and her counterpart in Barbados. Our main point, however, is that 'kind-hearted and generous' though these ladies might have been, 'English to the backbone' and perhaps even pale, they certainly could not have been all classified as home-bound, delicate, diffident and unassuming women. The images of woman which attracted the editor of the *Daily Gleaner* so much that he selected them for print, were not generally true for the white and coloured population.

Black women: The only comment which appears in the *Daily Gleaner* of this period which specifically refers to the black woman, is a parody of her existence. The circumstance is well worth repeating as it graphically describes the sex and colour relations in Jamaican society of the period between 1838 and 1900 and the consequent mandate for marriage choice. It indicates, too, the attitudes towards the black woman. The Reverend Samuel Holt, a black parson, is reported to have gone to England and to have reported in the Baptist Chapel in East Queen Street on his return, that he had been asked while in England if any black men were married to whites. He had had to reply in the negative and now exhorted the Jamaican men in his congregation to dress better and thereby make themselves acceptable to the white ladies of Jamaica as husbands.

This incident was thought so hilarious and bizarre that the editor printed beneath this story, a letter in the dialect purporting to be the response of a black woman, Quasheba. The parody goes on at length. We present snippets below:

"Colour Fe Colour"

Massa Editor,

> You is de man dat mek de newspaper and I wishes you to talk fi mi poor ting. Massa Holt is a good fe notting parson to come into dis Jamaica and tun fi wi husband head ... Dem don't care fi wi poor black wife again ... dem ride horse ... mek wi walk ... tek dem food ... mek wi wait pon dem and eat what dem leave ... never buy wi gown nor shoes nor boot ... never gi wi hat or hankerchief. Dem tek wi money and go a rum shop [19 December 1866].

It is curious that the parody did not picture white men retaliating by seeking to attract black wives or black women by seeking to attract white husbands and that the image-maker chose to make the woman and the black man the centrepiece and butt of his joke. Clearly women, as with the story 'Excellent Ellen', were good subjects for light fiction in this period. Quasheba, however, is seen by the editor as the antithesis in physique and no doubt character of 'Excellent Ellen', and is portrayed not in emotional but comic terms. For the editor of the *Gleaner*, black women living in 1866 are comic. The excerpt underlies, too,

by omission as well as commission, the prohibitions against cross-colour marriage. 'Excellent Ellen' of the 'delicate frame' is not expected to marry a black mate nor Quasheba a white one.

The parody above pictures the good husband as one supporting his wife materially - "buy mi gown ... shoes ... boot". Quasheba's husband does not support her. She, in fact, has money which he takes away. The reports we have of the behaviour of black women between 1838 and 1900, describe them as cultivators, farm labourers, bakers, small traders, tasks all undertaken to raise money, to support themselves and their offspring. The image of the black woman as an income earner is real.

Images and Role Performance 1901-Independence

White and Coloured Women: Over the whole study period, in Jamaica as in Barbados, models of women as frail, sick persons needing the aid of one or other patent medicine have appeared in word pictures in the newspapers. During the period after 1901, photographs accompany these word images. The photographs were invariably of white women, lending further support to the notion that 'pale', 'delicate', 'Excellent Ellen' is white and, conversely, that white women are given to frequent illnesses. This excerpt from the *Daily Gleaner* of 1920, complements the role model mentioned above.

> - A woman's trials increase from girlhood to the grave. The question of her health is always before her. Thirty years of her life are spent in battle with menstruation [5 May 1920].

Despite this touted model, the number of active women mentioned in the news increased.

These activities involved during this period the continuation of the social welfare enterprises such as the church bazaars of the period before. These enterprises increase to include the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (1903), Lady Musgrave's Self Help Society, aimed at the moral advancement of the women of Jamaica (1909), the Victoria League aimed at helping the unfortunate girls at the Stony Hill [Reformatory] and the Jamaica Womens' League, giving assistance in infant care (1936). Several other women's organizations came to the

forefront during this period, some of them professional organizations and some distinctly political. We find the Nurses Association meeting at Deaconess House in 1924 and the comment from Miss Amy Bailey in 1940 that:

> the women teachers of Jamaica have now proved themselves able by examination, by experience and practical ability to stand on the same plane as men colleagues in all things educational [3 January 1940].

The women teachers have begun to lobby that their own sex be made inspectors.

The British suffragette's struggle for the franchise did not go unnoticed. The newspapers of 1910 carried evidence of their struggle and on 1 January 1914, in a front page article carrying a large photograph, informed the readership that Mrs. Ella F. Young, 'one of the world's most widely-known human educators', was reinstated to her job as superintendent of Chicago schools. This event, the newspaper advised, was the result of 'the power of United Womankind'. Internationally, women in the early part of this time period had begun to project themselves as capable of a wide range of action and transmitted vibrations to Jamaica of a counter model to the suffering woman.

Teaching, the performing arts and household employment continued as key areas of female activity. They seemed in this period to become more professionalized. More schools seem to exist - the Day School for Young Ladies at 15 North Street (1903); the Alpha House of Mercy, mentioned in 1906 and catering to girls; the Shortwood College; the Home School for Girls (1909); and in the more modern period the private preparatory schools such as Rosemount Prep. School (1940) and government elementary schools, all of which required female teachers or matrons. Mrs. Y.C. Lee of Chapleton therefore had as early as 3 March 1903, a wider choice. She could advertise herself as an experienced teacher seeking appointment in 'home/school'. Not only were women moving into professions but they were moving to other territories on public missions and being noticed. Una Marson's visit to Geneva in 1935 as a representative of the League of Coloured People concerning the Italo-Ethiopian war was carried on the front page of the *Gleaner*. More usually, Jamaican women went to Central America and the United States of America in search of employment.

The task of governesses took women away from their homes, often away from the island and into other geographic areas. We find a report (1904) of a woman taken to England as a 'nurse'. It is interesting that on her return she, neither 'diffident nor unassuming' refused to continue in her employer's service and was sued for breach of contract. Notable too is the 1920 advertisement for a governess to accompany a family to Cuba:

> A high class family in Cuba desires the services of a refined well-educated white or fair young lady, expected to teach music - best wages to the right person [5 May 1920].

As with the preceding section, it is not clear to us which women were white, coloured or black, though a name such as Enid Khouri, shop-keeper and gas-station keeper of Carron Hall, does indicate colour and nationality, 'Khouri' being a middle-Eastern name. The frequency with which advertisers stipulated their colour preference from 1900 until as late as 1936, as evidenced below:

> Positions wanted - a decent honest fair girl seeks position as barmaid or to work in store or grocery. - Refined coloured girl wants position as house-keeper [1 February 1936]

suggests that some of the active women whom we have been describing would have been coloured and possibly pale like 'Excellent Ellen'.

Black Women: The Reverend Leslie Moffat, a Methodist missionary, on his return to England in 1938 described the black woman thus:

> Almost any black woman was worth four men. They were hard-working labourers, loving mothers and skillful dressmakers [6 December 1938].

Compare this pen-portrait with the image of 'Excellent Ellen' or the prose-poem quoted earlier. 'Excellent Ellen's' major characteristics derive from her relationship with her father; in the prose-poem a counter-balance of man and woman is implied. In the Reverend Moffatt's description, the weighting between the the sexes is uneven: the black woman is seen to be more hardworking than the male. It is interesting too, that she, unlike her white peer, is described in terms of work. This image of the hard-working

woman is verified by the reminiscences of women who lived and were in their prime in 1938 [Brodber 7]. They were generally independent businesswomen who preferred to 'mek wi own pay':

> Wi raise plenty goat you see and fowl and rabbit and guinea pig.[11]

The Rev. George E. Henderson who served in Jamaica in the early 20th century in the rural areas which are predominantly peopled by blacks, comments that under the guidance of the Baptist Church, "Homesteads had been founded and family life commenced for the first time" [15 p.85]. For the Rev. Mr. Henderson the term 'family' connoted a homestead in which major responsibilities are exercised by a male, and a woman, his wife, acts in concert with him or on his orders. His own mother and other women the reverend gentleman reveres on the grounds of the support that they gave to their husbands and that they produced daughters who married ministers of religion. For him, a woman is her husband's helper, a subordinate, and she shares her husband's dwelling. He obviously tried in his mission to replicate this model among his parishioners as the quote above suggests. Church organization in which men were given all the leading roles, reinforced this model. The Rev. Mr. Henderson in a section entitled "Pillars of the Church" says: "No reference has been made of Sisters in the Church and their service, as our record has been confined to officers, and those duties have been confined to brethren only". The Rev. Mr. Henderson operated with an image of woman's role which closely resembles the *Daily Gleaner's* 'Excellent Ellen'. Obviously, he hoped to change Quasheba into 'Excellent Ellen'.

Stereotypes

White women: The image of the woman projected to Jamaicans through the *Daily Gleaner* in our study period, emphasized certain qualities. They were, among others, filial obedience, beauty, suffering, diffidence and a passion to please and relieve pain. These qualities resided in a 'pale delicate frame'. With time, the body-related aspect of this image was expanded to portray a person bound by her menstrual cycle and needing doses of Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound or Kruschen Salts. A particular kind of relation between a woman and a man is posited in this model. There is a one-to-one relationship in which she

stays at home and is the passive foil to the strong, dashing, scientific man, 'great in action' and 'shining' abroad. His protection of her is made to apply even to her health as we see from the advertisement below:

> Possibly your own wife
>
> If her cheeks are hollow and pale, if she's tired and nervous, her system needs Dr. Hamilton's pills [2 January 1924].

A picture of a white woman accompanies this advertisement.

There were other role models less explicitly presented. The *Daily Gleaner* reported the activities of the suffragettes (1910), of Amelia Earhart (1937), and of Mme. Paul Dupy who had been made a commander of the Legion of Honour (1937). Nevertheless, we may note the attempts of persons such as R.L. Walcott, admittedly commenting on an earlier period, to damn the style of the active fat women with faint praise. In a guest editorial in the *Daily Gleaner* of 1905 he wrote of Mary Seacole and other coloured businesswomen thus:

> They were generous, they were fat and they now and then partook of the cup which cheers and inebriates. They kept plenty of what they called 'dumb things' and drifted thru life in a comfortable content sort of way. Mary Seacole was perhaps one of the best of this class. She received three decorations for service in Crimea [27 July 1905].

Earlier in his essay, Mr. Walcott describes these women whose business was hotel-keeping as unmarried, Mary Seacole being the exception and 'as though to prevent this exception her husband soon died'. The fat, husbandless, coloured businesswoman appears to be the anti-frame of reference presented to the Jamaican people. Photographs and reports of the exciting lives of pale-skinned film stars, more frequent after World War II, no doubt reinforced the emphasis on body image and the preference for pale skin and slim body. The plethora of advertisements into the present day offering an 'exquisite complexion' kept body image and a particular phenotypical preference continually beamed at the reader.

It is necessary at this point that we distinguish between stereotypes of body form, stereotypes of qualities, stereotypes of relationships and stereotypes of activities.

Though the image throughout this period continued to celebrate the 'delicate' and 'pale', the possibility of woman operating in non-household environments was becoming a part of the image. The *Daily Gleaner*, like its counterpart in Barbados, had by 1936 a Woman's Page. In a February edition in that year, articles were captioned:

> "Listen Children"
> "I like women in my office - by a businessman"
> "8 qts. of milk make one pound of butter"
> "How to protect books"
> "Hints for housewives"
> [1 February 1936]

The second item suggests that the Jamaican woman was now being seen as more than a delicate, suffering, menstruating woman. Her image was changing: she was expected to perform not only at home but had a place in the office if she cared for it. The stereotype of activity was changing. Stereotypes of form, relationships and qualities remained as before.

The black woman: The black woman was acknowledged to be different from 'Excellent Ellen', so different in fact that she could not be moulded to fit the model and could only provide comic relief. This was how the print media saw her. If the Rev. Mr. Henderson is representative of his kind, the church thought it possible to socialize her into the stereotyped version of the white woman.

Cultural Prescriptions

White small settler initiative was not as successful in Jamaica as it was in Barbados. Proportionately, Jamaica was home to fewer white persons than was Barbados. There were, therefore, fewer white men acquiring the 'necessary appendage' to complete their vision of home. Instead, there were absentee white estate owners who occasionally visited their Jamaican holdings and there were attorneys, policemen, soldiers on contracts. This transient state required no hostesses and co-residence of man and mate therefore was not an absolute norm. In such a situation women, even when they are 'kept', have a greater opportunity and perhaps more need to develop their own interests.

Developing businesses of their own is prescribed in this culture for most women. Any attempt to portray the Jamaican woman as one bound to home and housewifery as in the image of the 'Household Pearl' and the Burke-Clinkett model in Barbados would be to peddle a stereotype. We must note, however, that the Jamaican newspaper images - 'Excellent Ellen' and the lady of the prose poem - do not emphasize home-making and where the identity of the man with whom she is 'tender' and 'frail' is mentioned, he is her father. The stereotype is most forthright with respect to the characteristics of woman: she is delicate, diffident, tender, pleasing, tactful, suffering and at home. It remains doubtful, however, whether the independence which is prescribed for woman by this culture can accommodate the qualities demanded by the model of the frail sobbing girl bound to patent medicines for 30 years of her life.

It is with respect to the black woman that the search shows the greatest efforts at stereotyping. She is seen not only as hardworking, but as more hardworking than her mate. This weighting of role performance is real only because the observer saw manual labour as prescribed for black Jamaicans and assessed sex role performance in these terms. The culture history of Jamaica suggests that black Jamaicans order their priorities concerning activities in accordance with another set of values. It indicates that the practice of the supernatural arts, and activities in pursuit of freedom, were more valued among black Jamaicans than manual labour and that these highly valued activities were prescribed for men. An examination of Tacky's rebellion demonstrates these points as well as the consequence of this ordering of priorities for the sex role division of labour within the black sub-culture.

In 1760, Tacky, a Coromantyn slave on a St. Mary plantation, masterminded a revolt in which 50 white people and 300 black [Long 16 Bk.III, Ch. 3] lost their lives. Tacky's impetus had come from the African priests who, skilled in spiritual and supernatural affairs, had convinced his ill-equipped army that they were invisible and therefore invincible. The efficacy of this technique and therefore of the priests was so admitted by the opposition that they made capture, public hanging and display of bodies of the rebels a counter-strategy. Tacky was defeated but more significantly, after the insurrection, the rites of the African priests called by

the English 'obeah' were outlawed and made severely punishable. It remains so today. Afro-Jamaicans, however, continued to practice these supernatural arts which are the main preserve of men as is evidenced in the Court Returns[12] for the first decades of the 20th century. Other expressions of the supernatural arts are Myalism, Kumina, Dinkieminie, Pocomania, Bongo, the major roles in all of which are performed by males in Jamaica. The conclusion that the Afro-Jamaican culture takes the supernatural world very seriously and that the role of mediator between that world and the more concrete is assigned to the male, is inescapable. These tasks call for a measure of leisure and meditation.

Another task which makes similar demands is the production of music. Where in 1903 Mrs. Naomi Delgado, possibly a Jewish lady, was being complimented on her composition of 'La Belle Jamaique', black men were producing many of the work songs which are now attributed to 'anonymous' and remarked in 1896 by such travellers to the island as Alan Eric [13]. "Life in Jamaica in the Early Twentieth Century" [7], reveals a similar sex-typed preoccupation with music.[13] This skew has continued to become national and its product highly rated internationally.[14]

The leisure to practice these skills arises from the fact that the female counterpart in this sector of Jamaican society has been willing to assume a wide range of instrumental roles. It is her ability to function at this level that makes her an attractive marriage choice in the farming community as David Edwards found [12] and as Man Boy, a Jamaican who lived in the early twentieth century, testifies:[15]

> ... I could even look at the young lady walking out there and I could tell according to the movements of the body if that person would be an active person to do service. Because according to how you handle you limbs, you hands ... you see some young ladies, they walking along but they trying to prevent the hand from going to the side and are like that. Those are actually invalids; they don't have any use you know. Soldier-like women would make a good hustling wife.

To see the black woman as absolutely more hardworking than the man and the man as worthless as in the comment "Almost any woman (is) worth four men ..." is to perpetuate a stereotype; a distorted image of the cultural reality.

In fact, she is hardworking in her sphere of activity and her mate in his. To try to limit her activities to the 'home' wherein she is a supportive wife as is the logical conclusion to the Rev. Mr. Henderson's position, is to produce a new kind of woman: homesteads are normally so small that this redefinition would produce inactivity and underdevelopment.

Internalized Stereotypes

At least five advertisements specifying the colour of the woman seeking a job appear in our sample of the *Daily Gleaner* between 1920 and 1940. Coloured and white women were preferred. Interestingly enough, no such advertisement was found in Barbados, an island with similar racial groupings, in any of the time segments of our research time. One reason which suggests itself is the possible circumstance of competition for scarce benefits in Jamaica. The corollary follows: (a) that black women were to a greater extent than in Barbados beginning to participate in the master culture and therefore (b) the colour prescriptions for approach to its benefits needed to be re-emphasized.

Inspector Thomas commenting on the surge of black race pride in the 1920s, scoffs at this by reference to gleeful announcements that a way had been found to take the kinks out of black woman's hair and to make it appear straight [20 Ch. IV]. Black women no doubt hailed hair straighteners as the medium through which they could appear less black and therefore more qualified for jobs. Whatever the reason, and if Inspector Thomas relates the events faithfully, this response to hair straighteners suggests that black Jamaican women had indeed begun to internalize the physical aspects of the image of 'Excellent Ellen', the pale, delicate one, and perhaps to seek access to the things prescribed for her.

Images, Stereotypes and Role Performance - Post-Independence

The number of child maintenance suits and of women living in depressed areas who are classified as 'housewives', suggests that the attitude of economic independence from a mate and responsibility for one's offspring so underlined in the histories of the free black woman has been eroded, and replaced by a model closer to that in the mind of the Rev. Mr. Henderson.[16] The body-related

aspects of the image of 'Excellent Ellen' continue after Independence, as has been shown by Errol Miller [17] and, as is evidenced in the excerpt below, now control young women's life styles:

> ... the most important thing about Miss Pinto's speech is this - that she will not have her girls wearing soul hairdos to school. But only today Wolmers Girls with STRAIGHT HAIR were seen coming from school, with their hair let out flowing freely. Miss Pinto has decided that if your hair is curly you must either wear it close to your head, or plaited ... If you have straight hair however, you may wear it any way and any length you wish ... [Brathwaite 4 p.56].

Mrs. Jeanne Barnes from whose letter to *The Star* this excerpt was taken, was responding to a statement made in 1971 by the headmistress of Wolmers Girls School, one of Jamaica's oldest and most prestigious educational institutions, that students should not wear 'soul hairdos' to school. The 'soul hairdo' was in 1971 the popular expression of black racial pride.

This excerpt underlines two points relevant to the matter of images and perceptions of the Jamaican black woman. It underlines, as Mrs. Barnes has pointed out, the fact that authority figures within the society have seen it as their duty to control the body-related image of the Jamaican women and to continue in the direction of and to support the socializing import, of articles and advertisements printed in the *Daily Gleaner* since its inception. The emphasis on body image in the treatment of Jamaican women and the differential treatment according to racial characteristics is revealed by the excerpt.

The other point worth noting is that Mrs. Barnes supports her case for the 'soul hairdo' not on the grounds that the black woman's hair takes the shape of the 'soul' naturally when it is unrestricted, or that black women elsewhere have adopted this style, but that straight-haired students have been allowed to wear their hair 'flowing freely'. The frame of reference for both protagonists continues to be 'Excellent Ellen' - black women ought to be able to do with their bodies what white women can. The preoccupation with body image continues.

Images, Stereotypes and Potential

The literature search has revealed images of women offered to the Jamaican people as role models. The images vary according to colour. The black woman is portrayed as hardworking to the extent of being comical and the pale-skinned woman as 'delicate' and 'unassuming'. Neither of these images is a true description of either woman's actual performance. They are not prescribed by the culture and obviously do not represent the limits of the Jamaican woman's potential. These images are stereotypes.

Associated with the stereotype of the pale-skinned woman in particular, is a set of attributes relating to qualities, relationship to males, activities and body form. The stereotypes have been most persistent with regard to the last. It is this attribute which has most obviously come to be internalized by the black woman. The effort to approximate 'Excellent Ellen's' physical features by the use of cosmetics and hair-straighteners is related to the effort to find jobs and advance her social status. Nonetheless, this effort to change body form diverts time and mental energy from more creative activities and, most detrimental of all, crystalizes an inferiority complex. It is the black woman's self-development that is retarded.

The model of woman as limited to the household and, in public matters, to the support to a husband, has been beamed at the black woman. There is evidence that some have internalized this form and have given up the independence and the wide range of activities which was the style of their forebears in order to conform to this model. It is the black woman who has cut back in her activities most: it is she who has most limited her potential. These changes are part of the twentieth century initiative towards social mobility: housewifery and a high degree of sex role differentiation in work were not before part of the black woman's behaviour. Nor was dependency on one man.

TRINIDAD

Images 1838-1900

The editors of the *Trinidad Royal Gazette* which ran until 1899, if not later, did not act as image-makers. In this newspaper for this period, there are no images comparable to Edmund Burke's wife in the *Barbadian* (Barbados) and 'Excellent Ellen' in the *Daily Gleaner* (Jamaica). In fact, this newspaper reads, as its name states, like a gazette. This circumstance arises out of Trinidad's particular history and sociology, both of which dictated at least for this period, a peculiar communication frame.

According to Brereton, Trinidad in 1870 was comparatively highly urbanized, a quarter of its population being in the cities [5 p.89]. This trend was probably established from early post-Emancipation days when a thriving sugar industry could pay high wages to workers who consequently had the option to become skilled para-sugar industry workers able to reside in the city [Underhill 21, pp.53-4, p.72]. Concentrated populations allow for face to face communications of such subtleties as the content of perceptions. Newspapers need not discharge this function.

One peculiar feature of Trinidad society was that it was socially divided into parallel sectors as well as into stratified groups. Sectorialization of a small, closely located population makes beaming of subtleties to such a population even more unnecessary. The important point for the study of perceptions of women in the Trinidad society, is that these sectors were for most of the late 19th century locked into political battles. Sectoral interests were at the forefront of everyday life. A newspaper that wished to serve the nation as the name *Trinidad Royal Gazette* suggests, had to play safe. It had to be an information service and in its presentation avoid being flippant or didactic. The *Trinidad Royal Gazette* made itself the arch tool of the plural society: it was the marketplace for advertisements and other information of a legal and commercial nature, more so than the *Barbadian* and *Times* of Barbados and the *Daily Gleaner* of Jamaica. It left more particularistic matters to other agents of communication.

It was not until the 1950s when the society had become more integrated that we get public pronouncements

on conditions of women such as that contained in the excerpt below. Even then, this pronouncement is not an editorial note with didactic import but part of an on-going inter-community discussion.

Sharing the Seat with Women, Unfair Now

> ... to share with women, the 6 nominated seats reserved for special interest and unrepresented groups, is unfair. Women are a majority, not a minority. And while other groups, religious and racial might be discriminated against in the Legislative Council, women never would be. History has proven men to be chivalrous. I believe men love women more than women love men. A woman is a man's wife, mother, sister, daughter, daughter-in-law, grand-mother. This being so men will always [represent] the cause of women in the legislature.
>
> .....
> A woman taking one of these seats, would capsize the government and the stability of the country, though women, without having this seat would still remain in good security ...
>
> Watchful
> Caroni
> 6 October 1950.

The image of woman contained in this statement, is of a being whose essence arises out of her relationship to men. The locus of these relations is the family and the nature of the relationship is one in which the man takes care of his womenfolk. We have to return to the early post-emancipation period to see whether, to what extent and for what sectors this model was culturally prescribed, and whether the model arising out of the statement above is a distortion of reality, a stereotype. We look at the four major racial groups in Trinidad - the white, the coloured, the black and the Indian.

Role Performance 1838-1900

White women: Announcements appear in the *Trinidad Gazette* that the following women have become professionally qualified:

Louise Hughes as a midwife (1848)

Mrs. Catherine Warner as a midwife (1852)

Madame Marie Brenet as a druggist (1868).

Announcements are made too, with respect to the affairs of a number of women who are involved in business transactions:

Widow Leguin forms firm of Widow Leguin & Co. (1846)

Widow Raymond Andre and Co. dissolves firm (1848)

Widow Oliver and Co. dissolves firm (1848)

Marie Catherine Gabriel Gascoux appoints attorney (1851)

Widow Lefer admits Mr. Felix Lefer into her business (1854)

Eliza Chubb admits Mary Jane Liddle into her millinery business (1864)

Elodie Casie admits Phedora Dubois and Gertrude Marquillon into her business (1879)

Mrs. Schoener relinquishes interest in the firm of Schoener and Co. (1887)

Francisca Pages de Bosch and Gerado Bosch have dissolved their business (1892).

Several women are reported to have died and left estates. These are:

Mary Taylor Christian

Risette Febure

Catherine Scrafton

Rose Mar

Adeline Loah of Middlesex (England).

Brereton states [5 p.90] that although there were some well-established coloured families among the landed, "on the whole blacks and coloureds did not own plantations" but were employed in white collar jobs. We may safely assert then that the women referred to above were most likely white and probably coloured. If names be any indication, French women appear to be the most involved

in businesses and English women in the professions and land transactions.

With reference to the model arising out of 'Watchful's' letter, it is significant that the businesswomen in four cases are referred to as 'widow'. This term describes a woman as part of a two persons unit and made this dyadic relationship the focus of her identity even after the death of her mate. This appellation leads us to speculate that the businesses mentioned were indeed family firms and that the women concerned were not totally in charge of them. These four widows plus Mrs. Schoener are likely to have managed these businesses under the care and protection of their menfolk and within the ambit of the family as 'Watchful's' model requires.

Another area of activity in which white and possibly coloured women were involved was social hosting. That the Honourable Mrs. Gordon would entertain (1869/70) was announced. So were the reception days of Lady Robinson. Lady Broome's receptions were also gazetted throughout 1892. These functions a women normally carries out by virtue of being a part of a dyad.

Coloured Women: Very little reference appears in the chronicles of public acts of performance or announcements of performance of women who are undoubtedly coloured. We find here no Betsy Austins, Caroline Lees or Mary Seacoles. If there was a vibrant hotel and guest house life in Trinidad, coloured women certainly did not preside over it. We suspect that it would not have been presided over by women at all. It would appear that white and coloured women were rarely in the public eye and that when they appeared, they were attached to business firms which belonged to the family and were shepherded by a husband or an attorney or both.

One of the few coloured women mentioned in this time frame was Mrs. Prosper Maresse [Brereton 5, p.88]. A talented woman from a highly politicized family, she wrote pamphlets and letters in the 1880s in both French and English, attacking clerical control of education. This level of literary skill and political action is one which did not surface among her counterparts in Jamaica or in Barbados. Given the sectoral divisions in the society, the Trinidad upper class was probably less interested in public entertainment of the type offered in guest houses, and emphasized instead household activities of which

literary arts and political discussion were probably priority items and ones in which females could participate.

Indian women: Indian women appear in the *Trinidad Royal Gazette* as the would-be recipients of money.

> A female Indian immigrant named 'Uppernah', the mother of Mandhab, an Indian immigrant, lately residing at Rivulet estate in the Ward of Savavette, now deceased, has applied for payment of £100.00 deposited in the Savings Bank by Mandhab, and interest [20 March 1861].
>
> Application has been made by one Foalchoohee, a free coolie, claiming to be the surviving widow of one Ajoodha, who died at Coral Estate in the ward of Savanna Grand in February last - for payment of £22, now standing credit to said Ajoodha, in the Savings Bank, San Fernando [23 March 1864].
>
> Application has been made this day of one Subrathy, a free coolie, claiming to be husband of one Thoonea who died on Galconda Estate June 1864, for £5 ...
> [18 January 1865].
>
> Female immigrant "Amen Cooty" the mother of Balahistanen, an Indian immigrant, lately of Caroni Estate, now deceased, has applied for payment of £13.10.0. [10 April 1867].
>
> Female Indian immigrant named Gossayee, wife of Noor, an indentured Indian has applied for payment of £12.10.0 [22 March 1870].

In all the cases listed above, the woman was benefitting financially because she was a wife or a mother, presumably of a working male. There are two considerations to be made here: one that she was linked to two levels of generations in her dual role of mother and wife of the other, that there were pecuniary benefits, care-taking benefits, to accrue from this association. The resemblance to the model implicit in 'Watchful's' letter is close.

If linkages at two levels of the family system were part of the pre-Trinidad Indian experience, the terms of migration supported this. It was specified in the Indenture Agreement that "husbands must not be separated from their wives nor children under 15 years of age from their 'protectors'" [Underhill 21 p.80]. The Trinidad Indian experience in the eyes of the Baptist Missionary Underhill in his visit there, conformed to this notion of family organization. He saw the women as "happy enough, nursing their little ones on their hips" [p.51]. He mentions, too, that they "are quite willing to work and usually take one task a day" [p.66]. The hidden assumption herein is that it has been shown to be humanly possible to take more than one task a day but the Indian woman has chosen or been made to take just one. We can conclude then that though the Indian woman in the period before 1900 laboured, she operated principally within a wide family unit in which she was wife and mother, roles in which she enjoyed some measure of financial caretaking.

Black women: The evidence leads us to believe it is the black woman who veered from the model of a woman tied into a family system in which she gets a measure of protection. Underhill in his tour of missions, did see them as wives in barracks with their husbands. These, it happens, were Sierra Leonese persons. His reference to 'creole' Trinidadians describes a female 'Shouter'. She is a 'woman' who "swayed her body from side to side and was scarcely held onto by her neighbours". No attempt is made to link her to family roles. In similar manner, Maria is introduced to us. She is an 'untamed spirit' who has defied slave masters, joined other churches, found means of making herself literate and 'acquired a saving knowledge of the gospel'. This last act inspired her "to marry the man with whom for years she had lived as wife, after the custom of slavery". Maria marries her mate. All the initiatives are given in this account to the black woman.

Relative isolation of the black woman from male caretakers and her reliance upon herself for the goods of life, is a theme present in the descriptions above. Underhill's case descriptions are so poignant that we quote them in full below. It must also be borne in mind that the women whose histories he presents are the only individuals he has isolated for such close attention [21 pp.21-23]:

During our stay we had such pleasant intercourse with the coloured members of the church. One of these is the off-spring of a negro, and a North American Indian. She has the features of an Indian; but her colour is that of the negro. On her arrival in the colony, some thirty years ago, she and her family were baptized into the Church of Rome. Subsequently she was converted by the grace of God, and added to the church; but, to her distress, her children and grandchildren for the most part remain in the communion of Rome. Most touchingly she spoke of her earnest endeavours for their salvation, of her much prayer on their behalf. Her views of divine truth were clear, and she spoke with earnestness and propriety of her love to the Saviour. She obtains her livelihood by the cultivation of a piece of ground, a little way out of town. 'I never want', she said: 'My Heavenly Father supplies all my need. One crop succeeds another; now maize, now sugar-cane, now cocoa, now yams, each in its season'. Poor as she is, she never comes to the Lord's day worship without a gift of money to the cause of God. That she will not omit; if she has nothing to sell from the produce of her garden, she will cut a few bundles of grass from the wayside, and carry them to the market, that she may be provided with her gift. This is indeed a bright specimen of the grace of God working on an uncultivated mind. Although unable to read, she speaks with great correctedness and force.

The story of Maria Jones, another member, is a deeply interesting one. She came to see us several times, though now aged and ill able to walk. Only sickness can keep her from the house of God. Though about eighty years of age, she still retains a vivid recollection of the hour when playing in the bush, near her father's hut in Africa, she was suddenly seized and borne away to the frightful hold of the slave ship. Brought to St. Vincent's, she was sold to the captain of a small trading vessel. Possessing an untamed spirit, she often rebelled, and as often endured the severity of the scourge. Being an unprofitable slave to her owner, she was sold to a Trinidadian planter; and on the Palmiste Estate, was driven by daily toil in the cane field. The manager was a young Scotsman, who has since risen to wealth: the slave, though now free, is still poor.

> Referring to this, she said, 'I more rich than he for a' that; he poor blind buckra sinner, while Father make me rich for ever'. From the Palmiste Estate she was removed to Mount Pleasant, in the northern part of the island, and here she became free. After Emancipation, a school was opened, and an evening class for adults, by a teacher of the Mico Charity. Though sixty years of age, Maria entered both. Here she first heard the story of Bethlehem and Calvary, and the more intensely did she long to read the inestimable narratives. Not content with the instruction of the school, she would often, she told us, stop on the road any person who knew how to read, and learn to master some difficult word or phrases. Nor would she rest till she had shown her proficiency, by reading to us from her large-typed testament a chapter from the Evangelists.
>
> As the Presbyterian missionary often visited the school, from his lips Maria acquired a saving knowledge of the Gospel. The first effect was to marry the man with whom for years she had lived as wife, after the custom of slavery. Subsequently her attention was directed to the subject of baptism, and after much consideration, she desired to be immersed in "same fashion as Jesus he own self". This could not be denied her. 'Then', said she, as she came from the water, 'I baptise four times now, but only one time right'. Her first baptism was in her own country, by those who stole her; the second by the priests of Rome on her arrival in the island, for however much that church may neglect the instruction of her children, she does not fail to give the sprinkling of water, the chrism, the salt, and the cross on the brow; a third time she was sprinkled, on her joining the Scotch Church. Very consistently and honourably has she since then followed the Saviour in the observance of his precepts. Patiently, but with strong desire, she awaits death's summons to be for ever with the Lord.

As in Barbados and Jamaica, women in Trinidad left their husbands who, as a result, publicly renounced responsibility for them. Many such cases were gazetted in the *Trinidad Royal Gazette* between 1838 and 1900.

> I hereby give public notice that my wife Marie Mathurin having quitted my roof to live with another man, I will not be responsible for any debts she may contract [9 November 1872].
>
> My wife Mary Roberts having left my bed and board without just cause and leading a disreputable life, I will not be responsible for any debts she may contract [31 December 1872].
>
> My wife Elizabeth Bellevand having left my house without reason, the Public is warned against giving her credit as I shall not be responsible for any debts [22 January 1872].

While the above is evidence that women did renounce the care and protection offered by a mate, it has been difficult to establish the racial/cultural background of women who would take such a step and mates who would respond by making a public spectacle of them. The following announcement indicates that those persons might have been of low status.

> The undersigned is not responsible for debts by my wife Mrs. Marie Harpe (otherwise called Mrs. Joseph Harpe) and cautions against giving credit as he won't pay these [X his mark, Joseph Harpe] [11 August 1847].

The name attached is non-Indian. The black and Indian populations were proportionately more illiterate than the coloured and white. It is reasonable to infer that the Harpes were black and to state that at least in this one case the wife who has chosen to leave her husband's protection is 'creole'. Further investigation is needed to establish whether upper class persons, normally white and coloured, made such choices.

The search of the *Trinidad Royal Gazette* reveals that women were quite often involved in court house proceedings. Throughout the decades, they were listed as charged with, among other things, 'riding furiously', flying kites in the street, violent language, having a naked child in the street, leaving cart unattended and porting without a licence. Most of these are manual and highly visible activities. Evidently, there were some women who were in the public eye and for whom street life with its high level of physical and verbal activity

was the norm. Brereton acknowledges the existence of these people and describes them as a motley crew of immigrants from other West Indian islands and natives who with the decline in Trinidad's returns from sugar, could not be absorbed into the economy. These were invariably black.

This poor black woman was, unlike her middle class black counterpart and the coloured white elite, highly visible and involved in interaction in public places. This life-style describes a woman struggling in the public arena to grasp the bare economic essentials rather than one whose social existence was prescribed by familial roles and interaction. She does not fit the model advanced in 'Watchful's' letter.

Images and Role Performance - 1900-Independence

The *Trinidad Royal Gazette* disappeared at the turn of the twentieth century. It is to the *Trinidad Guardian*, the longest running twentieth century newspaper in Trinidad that we turn for stereotypes and images. Like its predecessor, it tended in this period to present news and advertisements, rather than views. This newspaper like the *Daily Gleaner* and the *Barbadian*, the *Times* and the *Advocate*, carried during this period news of British royalty and of the local elite. Whether the locus was Trinidad or Britain, they were pictured as officiating at social functions such as bazaars and races. The *Trinidad Guardian* differs from the *Daily Gleaner* in that it carried few advertisements of jobs for women and where these advertisements existed, they were in only one case, racially biased:

> **European nurse wanted for small baby** [1939].

The *Trinidad Guardian* stands out as the newspaper which, compared with the others reviewed, makes the earliest and most consistent effort to provide information for the woman in her role as home-maker. The column "Blanche Goes Shopping" began in 1917, the year of the newspaper's inception, and continued at least until 1924. This was a shopping column written by women for women and advised where to find the best buys. A supporting distaff column was "Woman's World" which began in 1928 and continued for years. This column contained recipes, fashions and advice on child care among other things.

The *Trinidad Guardian* in this period also carried information on a number of literary works either created by or dealing with women. We are informed that Marie Corelli's novel *Open Confessions from a Man to a Woman* will shortly be published (1925), that the *Trial of Nurse Cavell* (1928) is being filmed at Cricklewood Studios, and are offered the serialized stories *The Vital Flame* by May Christie (1924) and *What Every Widow Knows* (1925) by Lucille Van Slyke.

Any salesman interested in the "support of the advertising community" as the editor of the *Trinidad Guardian*, in his first issue, said he was, tries to promote sales by satisfying the taste of his readers. He must know the nature of the society. If the editor of the *Trinidad Guardian* proceeded in this way, and was successful, then it is fair to assume from his choice of articles that there was a highly literate group of housewives in Trinidad who had the time, leisure and awareness to enjoy his fare. Indeed, as we have remarked, there were relatively few job advertisements for women and except for a 'lady residing in the vicinity of Queen's Royal College' who desired to sell lunch to several students (1933), no evidence exists of the female proprietors of gas-stations, millinery shops and other craft establishments which one meets in a review of the Jamaican newspaper. We note, however, that

> Mrs. Maud Gilbert, formerly of Home Industries, continues catering to customers at 36, Frederick Street. Scalp massage, shampoo, face and body massage, electrical treatment etc. Phone 742 [3 October, 1922].

The notice above was obviously for the leisured wealthy and leads us to conclude that there was a kind of Trinidadian woman who patronized the literary arts and houses of fashion and beauty. The leisure and wealth to support this style could have sprung from the firms and other business concerns mentioned in the 1838-1900 segment. It is also clear that these ladies and their actions were outside of the public eye, in beauty salons, in their homes, in their groups. Reinforcement of the righteousness of this style came from the high level of consensus possible in a small group: they needed neither to assert their style on other groups nor to seek their homage and approval. They were ladies in a fine castle.[17] They were white and possibly coloured.

Other Women: News items are beamed at no other kind of woman. The highly cultured lady ensconced in her home seems to be considered the norm by this newspaper, and the home and family the normal setting. There are at least two news items whose content indicate an effort to impose the concept of the integrity of the home and family upon people who seem of low status and are therefore likely to be black. We paraphrase these items below:

Maintenance of Children

> An Appeal Court Decision ruled that it was amoral to have bastard children so the appeal of a young man, Edward Holder, against having to pay 60 cents per week each for three children by Mary Jane Edwards was dismissed [1930].

A Postman's Matrimonial Affairs

> Octavia McCollin obtained a summons against her husband Clifford McCollin, a postman working in Williamsfield, for refusing to maintain her. They had parted after a quarrel. The judge suggested that they try cohabiting again [1922].

It is not only the sanctity of the home and family that is being reaffirmed here but the normalcy of the dyad and, most importantly, that the man should assume a caretaking role. The case paraphrased below makes the point more clearly.

> A husband was convicted for making threats to his wife. He had been found guilty of threatening her with a razor and was fined four shillings. His wife requested to have the children but the magistrate advised that the husband said he wanted them as they were his [1933].

Perhaps because the rightness of this model was generally accepted, persons who had broken their dyad, felt called upon the announce its end publicly. As in the segment before, these announcements normally came from men who, having taken the cultural norm seriously, would have to treat its dysfunction seriously and make a statement renouncing their social obligation of caring for their deserting wives. In the four notices appearing in the period two of the husbands were illiterate, one was Indian and the other, we presume, black.

A peculiarly Trinidadian feature of these public announcements of non-functioning dyads was that women began in this period to make similar announcements. Two such appear in our sample of the *Trinidad Guardian*.

> I notify the public that my husband is no more responsible for me since I have left his house and protection since August 1922 and am now living at my father's house [4 October 1922].

The announcement by Ramparee, an illiterate Indian, that

> I am not responsible for any debts contracted by my husband Ghasiram of Ben Venue Estate for I have left his home and protection since May 1922,

while reaffirming the cultural prescription that men should have women in their homes and protect them, raises the issue of apportioning of responsibility within the dyad. At least this one Trinidadian woman felt that she could be held responsible for the debts of her husband. If it is possible to generalize from this case, it would be established that though women accepted the cultural prescription that men should be their protectors and that their locus was the home, they expected to contribute to the maintenance and integrity of the unit although their activities were circumscribed by the limits of home and family. It is left to be seen, for instance, whether a wife's property was generally considered to be at the disposal of the husband. Angrosino [2] indicates that it was so among Indians.

Images and Role Performance - Post-Independence

The late 1960s found women much more vocal and that, within the public domain. The Federation of Women's Institute, for instance, was featured regularly in the press. In an article called "Why don't you run the World", appearing in the *Daily Mirror* in 1964, their president, Mrs. Cleopatra Romilly, is reported as having said that woman's first duty is the home. In the home she was psychologist, economist and educator. She is reported to have asked women to fit themselves for education. The other public comments made by women support Mrs. Romilly's vision of right behaviour for the Trinidadian woman. These comments are noted in reported speech below and appeared as Romilly's did in the *Daily Mirror* of August 1964.

> Mrs. Robinson said that women had their roles but it was to be played hand in hand with men. Women were willing to serve. This was their natural role in life's scheme. They made the home yet they could serve in auxiliary agencies such as factories, offices, hospital.
>
> Mrs. Blessdell said that women set the standard for the country. They set them in the home and they spread to the community.
>
> Mrs. Iris Semper said that women should maintain their womanhood and never give up the position of wife and mother. Men appreciate intelligent women today. The women must widen their education in all spheres.

From their photographs these women all appear to be black: on the eve of Independence, Trinidad black women in public life were articulating the view, as the excerpts above show, that the woman's place was in the home where she performed a number of pattern-maintaining roles. She should educate herself to better discharge these roles. Excursion out of the home should be to perform similar roles in the public sector. Indeed, a large number of such women extended their familial and household functions into the community in the form of voluntary social work and into the Peoples National Movement, an organization which began as a public education service and is now the leading political party [Ryan 19].

The black woman - middle class we assume - confidently operates within the model in 'Watchful's' letter. This model has been the norm for female behaviour and was endorsed by the then Prime Minister, Dr. Eric Williams, at the 19th Convention of the Federation of Women's Institutes. Dr. Williams is quoted in the *Express* as saying

> The young men of this country are only as strong or as weak as their mothers and wives have helped to make them ... Whether they have a decent degree of discipline or not is so only to the degree that their women-folk are prepared to tolerate, accept, condone ...
>
> In particular their attitudes towards certain categories of honest employment is also shaped or influenced by the commonsense and maturity of their womenfolk [16 May 1965].

In the late 1960s women attempted to enter the political domain as legislators. In a series of articles in which women candidates were interviewed, the dyadic relationship was reaffirmed:

> It is not that we can out-do the men but they need us not singly but together, to give them encouragement. Men are useless without the cooperation of women [Mrs. Huggins, 16 April 1966].
>
> It is high time we take our place in politics and be some guide to the men [Mrs. Campbell, 17 November 1966].

The Trinidadian woman, even when she was ready to expand her service into politics, was prepared to do so within the parameters of a dyadic relationship.

Stereotypes

The Trinidadian woman was perceived as a being who operated within the home and family. This was indeed the reality throughout time for all except the very visible group of immigrants and dislocated native blacks who crowded into the cities. It was possible that even here the norm was known and accepted and that the counter activity of such economically depressed women as the 'jamette' sprang from frustration at their inability to realize the norm. Brereton's comments [5 p.116] support this hypothesis.

> The jamette boasted their skill in fighting, their bravery, their wit and ability at 'picong', their talent in song and dance, their indifference to the law, their sexual prowess, even their contempt for the church. In short, they reversed the canons of respectability, the norms of the superstructure. As the *New Era* puts it, 'the immoral band of men and women ... base their right of existence on their power to outrage all that society holds most sacred and all that religion imposes'.

A cursory review of the themes of the 37 calypsoes which Trinidad's most popular calypsonian, the Mighty

Sparrow, had written by 1964, finds him continually berating the exercise and practice of female sexual autonomy.[18] Sparrow's popularity among all sectors suggests that he truly reflects national sentiments. Sparrow is, in fact, maintaining the cultural pattern and values on behalf of all Trinidadians, that a woman's place is the privacy of the home. Persons like Mrs. Norma Jute, 'lady' vice president of the Trinidad Teachers' Association in 1966, are by such strategies as Sparrow's calypsoes kept in place.[19] As if in response to Sparrow's reaffirmation of women's necessary invisibility, she comments in an interview called the "Silent Sex" (May 1966), "We women shy away from public comment because we are afraid of being called viragoes..."

The portrayal of women therefore as linked to family and household and as operating within a private domain that we see in 'Watchful's' letter and in the several letters of the 1970s which were inspired by the North American women's liberation movement, conforms with role performance. This close fit between perception and actuality releases 'Watchful' from any charge of stereotype-making. But perception, image-making and stereotype-making relate not only to the concrete aspects of behaviour but also to the value attached to this behaviour. To insinuate, as Herbert Wilson does in his article in the *Sunday Guardian* of 30 July 1972 - "She can't think like a man" - that the Trinidadian woman is intellectually inferior to her male counterpart is to assign negative value to homemaking within the Trinidadian culture and to fail to realize that the homemaking function in Trinidad extends beyond the boundaries of household and public life, where as organizers of social work agencies and election victories distaff skills are elaborated.

Herbert Wilson has apparently separated male activity from female activity and evaluated them in competitive terms. To do this is to violate the concept of the dyad which, as we have shown, is central to social organization and action in Trinidad. The dyad operates on the principle of balance and interpenetration rather than competition. The introduction of a note of competition into a model whose dynamic is balance, is to distort the process of action. This distorted view of the real process could eventuate into a stereotype.

Cultural Prescriptions

We have called Trinidad a society divided into parallel sections as well as into strata. The history of its present inhabitants begins with the French. Fleeing from other West Indian islands and from North America, they settled in Trinidad as landed proprietors. Given the several shifts in regimes in nineteenth century France, they were likely to de-emphasize their links with a metropole and to build a culture suited to their own needs. Under these conditions, whatever they built would be firmly rooted.

The English captured and assumed administrative responsibility for Trinidad in the nineteenth century. The adjustment of one group to another meant in this case reaffirming of in-group values towards strengthening the group. Where patterns of behaviour are given the same rating in each group, such a pattern is likely to be rooted very firmly in the total society. The privacy and mystique given to the female life, was one such pattern.

The relative prosperity of the Trinidadian sugar estates after Emancipation (1838) made possible for black ex-slaves, acquisition of wealth and mobility into the values of the high-status segment of society. The incursion of Indians into the society bringing similar values, established the woman in the 'fine castle' as the central motif in Trinidadian society. Afro-cultural groups existed as in Jamaica, but coming in relatively small numbers from a wide variety of culture areas, and having no clear geographical space, they could not institute a viable counter-culture but functioned as little more than anti-establishment groups. It is interesting to note that NJAC, the most explicitly black group in Trinidad of the 1970s also affirms this concept of woman's place.[20] In an article called "New Black Attitudes" appearing in the NJAC newsletter of March 1974 we find this affirmation: "The black woman is the mother of the race. Developing a black home is very important because the home is the smallest example of how a nation works".

The privacy of the home, the home as a small training group, the emphasis on the dyad are all culturally prescribed for the Trinidadian woman and have been performed by her. Her behaviour in this role is instrumental to the functioning of the system and does not seem to limit the development of her abilities. The following comment

attributed to a Democratic Labour Party Indian worker[21] whose wife was, in 1971, his campaign co-chairperson describes how the realization of the woman's potential can be made to fit within the old model:

> I know a lot of boys is sayin "Tommy ain't much of a man - he let his wife get up and make speech". But them that knows me know that I am still the boss in my house and if Sarita act sassy is "licks for she" like they say. But you know, man, that woman is smart like hell, and she's a good talker too. And we Indians is never going to get ahead in this place if all these intelligent women is sitting around in their dasheen patch pretending to be ignorant ... I running my own house, and Sarita is my wife and maybe together we'll get somewhere better [Angrosino 2, p.65].

CONCLUSIONS

Roger Brown [11 p.172] distinguishes between social roles and social stereotypes:

> A social role is a set of prescriptive roles or guides to behaviour for persons of a given category. What is prescribed for the category is ordinarily performed by the category and expected from the category. Prescription, expectancy, and performance all converge in the social role but in the social stereotype we have categorical expectancies without prescription and it is a matter of controversy whether or not a category performs in such a way as to confirm the expectancy.

In our search we have looked at the 'guides to behaviour' prescribed for the Caribbean woman by her history and sociology. We have looked at her own performance over time. What we found in this process may be called her social role. We have looked in newspapers and in the expressions of churchmen to see what is expected of the Caribbean woman. The attitudes, perceptions and expectations were often succinctly expressed in whole images.

These images correspond to Roger Brown's 'expectancies'. We have compared performance plus prescription with image and where the divergence is great have treated the 'expectancy' as the substance of a stereotype. Where evidence exists that Caribbean women have begun to change their style to conform with the image or 'expectancy', we have declared that the stereotype has been internalized.

We have looked at Caribbean women in three island territories only - Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad. Differences in the history and sociology of the three territories we felt, could render a particular 'guide to behaviour' for women a social role in one territory and/or sector and a social stereotype in another.

Images, Roles, Stereotypes of the Caribbean Woman

Generally speaking, the 'guide to behaviour' for women advanced by the image-makers in all three territories is that of a person whose purpose is derived from the existence of another. Differences in the identity of this other suggest themselves tentatively. In Barbados (Burke's wife), he is the husband; in Jamaica ('Excellent Ellen'), he is the father, and in Trinidad, it is the extended family.

While the woman's locus is in all three cases, in the home or household: being a comforting, chattering 'Household Pearl' in Barbados; a pleasing, diffident, unassuming person in Jamaica; and a lady in the privacy of a family 'castle' or a dasheen patch in Trinidad, only in Jamaica do we get references to the physical properties of the image. 'Excellent Ellen' is pale and delicate. These, then, are the models of 'right behaviour' for the Caribbean woman presented to Caribbean people from Emancipation to Independence. They seem to vary from territory to territory.

The distance between the image and performance and cultural prescription, seems to vary too. We find especially for Barbados and Jamaica, that the 'right behaviour' not only was not culturally prescribed for the majority of the population but in the early time segment especially seems not to have been performed by them. The models, however, were internalized as 'right' if not as 'possible'. Today they are part of woman's psychic landscape and are influencing woman's behaviour. The hiatus between model and reality seems less so in Trinidad; we have suggested

reasons for this above. Our research suggests then that Jamaican and Barbadian women are more subject to stereotyped roles than are Trinidadians.

Stereotypes and Development of Potential

Physical and mental energy are not inexhaustible. Few have the time and energy to exploit all their possibilities simultaneously. Choice of activity and choice of area of development are therefore universal constants. The choice can be made by the society or by the individual. In Barbados and in Jamaica where the evidence of internalization of stereotypes seems most clear, the span of activities performed by women happens to be greater than in Trinidad. Alternatives to the popularized images exist. The internalization of the whole or a part of the image is obviously the individual's choice.

In Trinidad, to a greater extent than in the other two territories, role behaviour is uniform and fewer alternatives exist. In this case, it is the culture that selects role behaviour. The aspects of self that are developed and the activities performed are chosen by tradition and culture. Further, in this particular culture, the behaviour of woman's body is one of the items sociologically defined - Sarita, despite her acknowledged intelligence and the projections to develop this intelligence, is a wife and can be beaten by her husband. Lack of control over the body must mean lack of control of potential. Whether this means less development depends on the plans the society has for its women. Change, if it is seen to be necessary, begins in the one case with the individual and in the other with the cultural and institutional arrangements in the society.

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NOTES

[1]Lady Nugent was the wife of a governor of Jamaica. She was resident in Jamaica between August 1801 and June 1805 and kept a diary which is not only a chronicle of events but a catalogue of her opinions and attitudes towards Jamaicans. This journal, (published by the Institute of Jamaica 1907, revised edition 1966) deals with a period which falls outside of our time frame. We hoped to find similar works in each territory dealing with the period 1838 to the present day.

[2]For instance, Russell [18] defines myal - a religious ceremony practised by Africans-Jamaicans - as 'excitement bordering on madness'.

[3]The chief exponent of this thesis is Edward Brathwaite whose [4, 5] explore this theme.

[4]With respect to the Barbadian newspapers we did not keep strictly to this ruling. The *Barbadian* between 1838-1860 was published on two days of the week - Wednesdays and Fridays. We used Wednesday's edition. Between 1863-1867, it changed to Tuesdays and Fridays. We used Tuesday's edition. In 1867, it appeared on Wednesdays and Saturdays. We used Wednesday's reporting. When after 1867, the *Barbadian* became the *Times*, it was published on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. We used Wednesday's edition. For each edition thus selected, we did a review of all articles appearing, including advertisements. We then paid special attention to those which mentioned women.

[5]Our use of newspapers at this state included whatever issues carried at whatever time, a page devoted to women. For Trinidad and Barbados after Independence we made extensive use of the newspaper clippings files on *Woman*. This is a collection of clippings from all newspapers in the particular territory. Thus for Trinidad for example, there are clippings for the *Guardian*, the *Express* and the *Daily Mirror*. These clippings files are collated by the library staff. The clippings file relating to *Woman*, housed in the CADEC library, Bridgetown, Barbados and that in the Public Library, Port of Spain, Trinidad, were consulted.

[6]*Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, Vol. 7, 1939-40, p.44.

[7]Barbados Rate Books - city rents for district No. 4 for the year 1851, consulted in the Barbados Archives.

[8]The journals kept by the Moravian ministers at the Sharon Mission are among the holdings of the Barbados Archives. We consulted them there and concluded from an examination of the entries that 'speaking' refers to the tutoring of new initiates.

[9]These views were expressed in an article, "Some Barbadian Views on Woman's Lib" in the *Sunday Advocate News*, 8 April 1973.

[10]The addresses mentioned are all Kingston locations.

[11]Brodber [8] Mother Brown - p.3.

[12]Public Record Office, London. C.O. 137/622, dispatch 620 dated 7 November 1901 carries an extract from the report of the Inspector General of Police. Several persons have been charged with the practice of obeah: all are men.

[13]Brodber [8]. See especially Music Man, Parish of Kingston.

[14]Jamaican music - reggae - has achieved international recognition. Most of the artistes are men. See Brodber and Greene [11].

[15]See also Brodber [8]. Parish of Clarendon, p.18.

[16]Brodber's [9, 10] indicate a shift in values particularly in the towns. Women and girls are beginning to expect men to support them financially.

[17]The notion that the white Trinidadian upper class lives apart from the rest of the community 'in a fine castle' is one of the central images in Derek Walcott's play *In A Fine Castle*. This play was produced at the Creative Arts Theatre, UWI, Mona in 1970-71. It is from this source that we have copied the term.

[18]By 1964, Francisco Slinger (the Mighty Sparrow) had written 37 songs which dealt explicitly with women and we assume the Trinidadian woman. In four of these he expresses spiritual love for a woman - Gloria, Dorothy, Maria and Ah Got to Have You. In all the others - whether as street walker, wife or sister, the woman exercises autonomy over her body, much to the chagrin of the composer (see Appendix).

[19]Mrs. Norma Jute's peers created for her a special post (1966), Lady Vice President of the Teachers Union, because it was not felt to be feasible for a woman to be a vice-president. She complains about this in the article 'Silent Sex' and contrasts her situation with that of the Jamaican female teachers who have held presidencies without the need for the creation of a new name.

[20]NJAC means National Joint Action Committee. This organization was in the vanguard of the Black Power demonstrations in the so-called February Revolution in Trinidad in 1970.

[21]This party is supported principally by the Hindu of Trinidad.

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APPENDIX

Titles of Calypsoes composed by the Mighty Sparrow (to 1964)

Jean and Dinah

Thirteen Year Old Mabel

Take you bundle and go

Angelina

Monica Dou Dou

Nice So

Dorothy

Raphaela

Maude

Theresa

Eva

Country Girl

Veronica

Roy Sweeter than you

Jean Marabunta

Pudding

Gloria

Yvonne

Short Little Shorts

May-May

Lucy Garden

Madam Dracula

Rose

Stella

Child Father

Cynthia the Musician

Ah Got to Have You

Benwood Dick

Maria

Elaine

She went down the Ferris Wheel

Vincentian Doreen

Elaine and Harry

Mr. Rake and Scrape

Mr. Herbert

Panama Woman

Suzie Jumbie

Perceptions of Caribbean Women

Towards a Documentation of Stereotypes

This study by **Erna Brodber** examines opinions and attitudes towards Caribbean women historically (1838 - present); geographically (Barbados, Trinidad, Jamaica); and through various sources of opinion (principally the Church and the Press). It sets out to establish what stereotypes exist and how these affect the behaviour of Caribbean women and limit their potential. Merle Hodge's Introduction extends the analysis by including a third source of opinion – the Caribbean novel.

Perceptions of Caribbean Women documents clearly how the images projected by the image-makers and models of 'right behaviour' are frequently at odds with the actuality of the existence of most Caribbean women.

The insights revealed by this preliminary investigation into the subject point the way to more detailed study of the stereotyping and behaviour of women in Caribbean societies.

Erna Brodber, a Jamaican, is a Research Fellow at the Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica. Her major area of interest is Social Psychology. Among her publications are *Abandonment of Children in Jamaica* and *A Study of Yards in the City of Kingston* (both published by ISER) and *Jane and Louisa Will Soon Come Home,* a novel which has just been published by New Beacon Books.

Merle Hodge, a Trinidadian, is a well known novelist and commentator, especially on issues affecting Caribbean women. She is presently a consultant to the Ministry of Education in Grenada.

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